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24 August 1984

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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24 August 1984

# USSR REPORT

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL

### REAGAN REFUSAL TO RATIFY ARMS TREATIES EXAMINED

LD131203 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 10 Jul 84

[Text] For the past 3 and 1/2 years the Reagan administration has stubbornly refused to ratify a number of treaties concluded by the Soviet Union and the United States to curb the nuclear arms race. What is the reason for that refusal? Here is the view of an official at the Moscow Institute of United States and Canada Studies under the USSR Academy of Sciences, Igor Giyevskiy, who holds a doctor's degree in history. Our reporter's questions and Dr Giyevskiy's answers follow in an English transcript. [read by two announcers]

[Question] Reagan's predecessors in the White House took part for a number of years in negotiations with the Soviet Union as a result of which three important Soviet-American treaties were drafted and signed. These are a treaty to limit strategic armament, or SALT-II for short, signed in Vienna in 1979; a treaty to limit underground tests of nuclear weapons signed in 1974; and a treaty about nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes signed in 1976. Dr Giyevskiy, why do you think President Reagan rejected these accords when he came into office?

[Answer] Well, to put it briefly, the current Republican administration in the United States doesn't wish to have its hands tied in anything affecting nuclear weapons and preparations for nuclear war. Verbally, especially with the approach of the presidential elections in the United States, Reagan and his aides are for introducing control over nuclear weapons, but actually Reagan has wrecked the whole process of arms control. For the past 3 and 1/2 years his administration has failed to conclude a single agreement on limiting the nuclear arms race. More than that, having started deploying new American first strike missiles in Western Europe, it disrupted the Geneva talks on the so-called Euromissiles as well as those on strategic armaments. Thus President Reagan's refusal to submit to Congress for ratification the treaties already signed reflects a general course of his policy which is aimed at an intensive buildup of the United States' nuclear potential, in order to gain military superiority and prepare for a nuclear war in which America could allegedly be the winner.

[Question] Could you give examples to show the desire of the United States Administration to go back on the commitment stemming from the Soviet-American treaties that were signed but remain unratified because of the American stand?

[Answer] One example concerns the issue of preventing the development of such strategic armaments as ground- and sea-based long-range cruise missiles. In the protocol to the SALT-II treaty which is an integral part of the treaty, the two sides pledged to work out mutually acceptable decisions about this category of strategic arms. The United States blocked action on this accord. It failed to act on a stipulation fixed in the protocol to the SALT-II treaty dealing with cruise missiles. It's now clear why there has been no action. The Reagan administration did not want to bind itself by any limitations in developing this type of weapon. It is now common knowledge that the United States has begun to deploy on a big scale ground- and sea-based long-range cruise missiles which is having a highly destabilizing effect on the international situation.

[Question] What can you say, Dr Giyevskiy, in the light of the now more frequent underground nuclear explosions in the United States, about the observance by the American side of the treaty to limit underground tests of nuclear weapons, a treaty the United States also signed but has not ratified?

[Answer] According to the data at the Soviet Union's disposal, the United States has repeatedly exceeded the fixed limit on the yields of nuclear charges being tested. That was made despite official American assurances that the United States intends to observe a limit of 150 kilotonnes. In short, the Reagan administration would like to whip up the nuclear arms race without any hindrance, to develop new weapons of mass destruction especially nuclear weapons. Were the treaty to be ratified and go into force, the White House would find it difficult to do that.

[Question] What do you believe are the consequences of this policy of the United States Administration for Soviet-American relations and for international peace and security?

[Answer] When treaties drafted after hard work and by mutual efforts are signed and after that one of the two sides refuses to ratify them, trust is undermined. That gives reason to doubt the sincerity of the statements by the Reagan administration about a desire for a dialogue and negotiations with the Soviet Union. That also fails to make it easier to conclude new accords to curb the arms race. Control over nuclear weapons demands a serious and honest approach. The Americans are interested in that as much as the Soviet people are. However, there are clear indications that the current United States leaders are far from showing this approach but instead are making plans for gaining military superiority and for nuclear war.

CSO: 1812/260

## INTERNATIONAL

USSR, NOT U.S., SAID TO BE REAL CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 24 Jul 84 pp 1-7

[Article by A. Movchan, doctor of juridical sciences: "Human Rights: Words and Works"]

[Text] Playing up its supposed advocacy of "fundamental human rights," "democratic values" and "freedoms" is a major concern of U.S. propaganda abroad. In carrying it on, Washington is trying to obscure the fact that it has been stubbornly avoiding actual involvement in international cooperation to promote universal respect for basic human rights and freedoms. The United States does not honour its direct responsibility in this sense under the UN Charter. Apparently, official Washington counts on inadequate public knowledge of the UN Member-States' performance in the international action in defence of human rights.

The U.S. ruling quarters are, naturally, passing over the origin of the idea that nations have to cooperate in this field. For, otherwise, the masterminds of the "crusade" against Socialism would have to recognize a fact of history they would rather have crossed out. It is that the origin of the humane idea about the necessity of international action to promote universal respect for human rights and basic freedoms for all, without any discrimination, dates from the period when world relationships were coming under increasing influence of Socialism as personified by the USSR, the world's first socialist state.

By its decisive role in bringing about the victory over fascism, the Soviet Union made a truly immeasurable contribution towards the defence of human rights. One of the major objectives of the anti-fascist struggle for liberation was to restore the freedom and independence of the Nazi-enslaved peoples and also democratic rights and freedoms trampled and profaned by Hitlerism. Consistent with that objective was the determination proclaimed in the preamble of the UN Charter, drawn up in the process of creating the UN with this country's active participation, "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small."

Another important reason behind the inclusion of the provisions about international cooperation on human rights in the UN Charter was that the maintenance of peace and security (the UN's basic task) is inseparably connected with the defence of democratic rights and freedoms.

It was the Soviet Union that suggested, while the Charter was drafted, stating that one of the principal purposes of the Organisation must be cooperation in "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights, in particular the right to work and the right to education as well as for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion, or sex." Although because of opposition from the Western powers, the right to work and the right to education were left out of the final wording, the Soviet proposal was essentially written into the UN Charter. That was the starting point of international cooperation in the field of human rights.

Some in the West prefer not to specify who was the moving spirit in that noble enterprise. Still less do they want to inform the public that all the provisions of the UN Charter concerning human rights are subordinated to the interests of strengthening peace and promoting normal relations between States. So, the text of the Charter points out that the activities of a State as regards human rights must be directed towards creating conditions "essential for peaceful and friendly relations among nations." Therefore, whenever the U.S. undertakes any action vitiating the international climate on the plea of "defending human rights," it is acting contrary to the UN Charter.

An important step forward in the furtherance of international cooperation to promote respect for human rights was the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was approved at the UN on December 10, 1948 (that date has since been observed around the world as Human Rights Day). In that way, the UN discharged a very challenging function--proclaimed such rights and fundamental individual freedoms as must be observed in all countries. What stand did the United States take up? Its official representatives prevented the Declaration from incorporating the right of peoples and nations to self-determination and a number of other elementary provisions, which the delegation of the USSR had insisted on, such as intolerance of the practice of racial contempt, the propagation of the "ideas" of fascism and enmity between peoples, and war propaganda. Washington's diplomats tried to turn down, furthermore, the Soviet proposal for the right to work and social security in the event of unemployment, illness, and disability, as well as to health-care, education, to mention but some, to be recognized as fundamental human rights. However, the humane position of the USSR earned support at the UN, and the social and economic rights were included in the text of the Universal Declaration.

The negative approach of the United States revealed itself yet more clearly in the subsequent stage of UN activities in this field. The next job after the adoption of the Universal declaration was to draft the Covenants on Human Rights which were to contain unequivocal international commitments of States to enforce the provisions of the Declaration, rather than just wishes and recommendations. Although U.S. officials readily enlarge on their allegiance to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as that does not bind them to anything, one would waste one's time trying to detect any mention of major international UN agreements on human rights in Reagan's speeches or statements. The reason is simple: the U.S. has always been opposed to the conclusion of international treaties obliging the States concerned to grant or observe any of the specific human rights.

The U.S. position caused the drafting of the Covenants on Human Rights to drag on for nearly twenty years. Moreover, American diplomats did whatever they could to make the UN limit itself to drafting only the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Yet they simply stalled the drafting of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, although these rights had already been recognized in the Universal Declaration. However, the U.S. State Department manifestly miscalculated in sticking to its delaying tactics with regard to the drafting of the human rights covenants. Every year, the UN admitted more States which were casting off the fetters of colonialism. The changed relationship of forces on the international stage, which told on the composition of the United Nations as well, led to the Soviet Union's repeated proposals about the right of peoples to self-determination, major social and economic rights, and the prohibition of the propaganda of war and instigation of racial or ethnic hatred, animosity and violence, winning extensive support and finding expression in the texts of the appropriate covenants.

Washington was compelled to show its cards. U.S. Secretary of State J.F. Dulles, and then also the U.S. ambassador to the UN officially declared that the United States did not intend to ratify the covenants on human rights. This statement was subjected to sharp criticism in the UN. Despite the resistance of the USA, the covenants were worked out and in 1976 entered into force. The Soviet Union was the first among great powers to ratify them. The number of states parties to the covenants is steadily growing. Among them are also West European countries, including U.S. NATO allies.

Having found itself in isolation, Washington resorted to a new manoeuvre designed to deceive world public opinion. In October 1977 the U.S. State Department staged at the UN headquarters a ceremony of signing the covenants on human rights, which was widely publicized by the American press and television. However for real participation in the obligations under the covenants their ratification is necessary. Having created the impression that the USA began to positively treat these international documents, it still has not ratified them. For the umpteenth time the world became a witness of yet another ballyhoo in the USA around the problem of protecting human rights, not of an honest approach to the implementation of the important UN decisions.

Of the nineteen basic international agreements worked out by the UN in the field of human rights, the USA participates only in three: the conventions on the combating of slave trade, on refugees and on the political rights of women (the last one is not being complied with).

Nevertheless the current U.S. administration undertakes to arbitrarily judge the human rights situation in this or that country, especially in the socialist states. Yet in the UN system there already exists a special international mechanism which alone can judge how states fulfill their obligations concerning human rights. According to the above-mentioned covenants, as well as the 1965 international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, states must regularly submit their reports on the implementation of these agreements, which, unlike the USA, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries systematically do. The discussion of the reports takes place

publicly. Any person can receive a clear idea of how in a particular state, including the countries of socialism, personal rights and basic freedoms are being observed. The USA shirks such responsibility and obviously fears it since that country still has not realized even such an elementary principle as the equality of all citizens irrespective of race, skin colour, sex, language, national or social background and property status, as required by the UN Charter and other main international documents on human rights.

We should specially dwell on the question of what threat the policy of the current U.S. administration creates to the most important right of man--the right to life. According to the latest decisions of the UN, it is the highest duty of states to prevent wars, acts of genocide and other acts of mass terror leading to a forcible deprivation of life, and therefore all the efforts which states undertake for the purpose of avoiding the danger of war, especially nuclear, and to strengthen international peace and security will be the most important condition and guarantee of the ensuring of the right to life.

It is enough to compare with these requirements the record of the Reagan administration (the occupation of Grenada, the bombing of Lebanon, the implantation of genocide in El Salvador, the mining of Nicaraguan ports, the refusal to pledge itself to no first use of nuclear weapons, the stationing of nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the arms race and, finally, the nurturing of plans for unleashing a nuclear war) to see what is the true attitude of the powers that be in the USA to the most fundamental of all human rights--the right to life.

(PRAVDA, July 24. In full.)

CSO: 1812/261

## INTERNATIONAL

### ROLE OF FERRARO, JACKSON IN MONDALE CAMPAIGN DISCUSSED

LD242259 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1835 GMT 24 Jul 84

[From the "World Today" program presented by political observer Boris Kalyagin]

[Text] The report of the Federal Election Commission has been published in Washington. The report says that 13 U.S. politicians who attempted to win a place in the White House received \$70 million for their election campaign funds. Of this total \$60 million was spent on manipulating the voters. Here one should remember that the current President has, so to speak, "free access" for election publicity purposes to national television and the press, which report his every move.

As far as the election campaign itself is concerned, a short pause has ensued following the Democratic Convention held in San Francisco. [video shows river and surrounding wooded countryside, captioned "Northern Minnesota"; Mondale is seen being questioned by large number of journalists] Walter Mondale, who was nominated as the presidential candidate, has decided to take a short rest. He is taking a fishing vacation in his home state of Minnesota. But there's no break for the journalists. On the threshold of the next stage in the presidential race they are taking stock of the results of the convention and assessing the chances of the sides.

Local observers feel that this year's Democratic Convention will go down in U.S. history regardless of the outcome of the November election. For one thing, this is because a woman, Geraldine Ferraro, was chosen as the vice presidential candidate for the first time in U.S. history and, second, because a representative of the Negro population in the United States, Jesse Jackson, achieved considerable success for the first time. [video shows Ferraro descending aircraft steps, captioned "New York"]

Jackson's popularity has forced the official candidate, Walter Mondale, to take account of several problems raised by the black politician. The Democratic strategists plan to achieve success at the elections by increasing the army of voters. They hope to register millions of new voters, especially among America's black population and representatives of other national minorities which are subjected to discrimination. For this they badly need the active cooperation of Jesse Jackson. Mondale's aides believe they have secured this, since in his speech to the convention the Negro politician called on black Americans to support the Democratic Party.



Observers are also saying that the choice of Geraldine Ferraro as the vice presidential candidate has opened up before the Democrats the potential opportunity of achieving success among young voters and the female population of the United States. This is confirmed by the results of an opinion poll carried out by the Gallup Institute on behalf of NEWSWEEK magazine, which shows that 48 percent of the Americans questioned expressed support for Mondale and Ferraro. And 46 percent expressed a preference for Reagan and Bush.

Of course, a difference of 2 percent is not very great. And an increase in the popularity of a candidate immediately after his party's convention can be considered a normal phenomenon. Nevertheless, the results of the poll show that great changes have occurred. After all, at the end of last month Mondale was 19 percent behind Reagan in terms of number of votes. Immediately after the convention, Mondale and Ferraro challenged President Reagan and Vice President Bush to a television debate on the problems of foreign and domestic policy. However, the White House has declined this proposal.

CSO: 1807/284

## INTERNATIONAL

### HYPOCRISY OF U.S. CONCERN FOR ISLAMIC STATES EXPOSED

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 21 Jun 84 p 3

[Article by K. Turdaliyev, candidate of historical sciences: "Who Are These 'Friends' of Islam"]

[Text] The United States and the other imperialist powers, in inciting religious fanaticism, are trying to utilize Islam for their own purposes and to show themselves as friends and defenders of Muslim peoples. What is behind all this?

A. Makhmudov, Samarkand

In recent years, officials and propagandists of Washington's apparatus and the other capitalist states have been counting on fomenting religious fanaticism and strongly inflating the variant of the "illusory Soviet threat" ostensibly hanging over the countries of the Muslim East. They are trying to prove in the United States that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is pursuing secret aims in regard to the oil regions of the Near and Middle East and that ostensibly the USSR is striving to enslave the Muslim peoples. At the same time, a profuse and stormy flow is being precipitated on these peoples in the form of speeches and appearances of U.S. officials and of information materials with assurances that the United States is a most sincere friend of Islam and Muslims. But even the most cursory glance at the history of the relations of the imperialist powers and the peoples of the Muslim East makes it possible to make the conclusion that this is a propaganda trick of the West.

Imperialism with its policy of colonialism has always subjected the Muslim peoples to most brutal exploitation and has been and continues to be the chief enemy of the national-liberation struggle of the countries of the East. Let us at least recall the position of the imperialist powers when Nasser's revolutionary in Egypt decided to nationalize the Suez Canal. Washington displayed "sincere concern" for Muslims in Egypt and put into operation a favorite method--it stopped deliveries of wheat to Egypt in order to force it to grant concessions to London and Paris. And only the Soviet Union extended the hand of assistance--it supplied Egypt with wheat.

In October 1956, imperialism once more displayed its "concern" for the Egyptians who had started to build a new life. The trio of aggressors--London, Paris and Israel subjected the national independence of Egypt to a real threat. U.S. President Eisenhower proclaimed the need of sending American troops there to save the Muslim countries from the "threat" of communism. U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles believed that the Suez crisis could be resolved by armed means. And another American diplomat, R. Murphy, sharply criticized France for discontinuing military operations. In a statement by TASS of 13 January 1957, unmasking the hypocritical policy of the United States, it was pointed out that "it is not the interests of religion but the interests of the giant American businesses that force the government of the United States to be concerned with sending its troops...." Actually, the imperialists were forced to discontinue their aggression solely due to the decisive position of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union always has supported states striving to free themselves of imperialist pressure and dependence on capitalists. The Soviet people helped erect a large metallurgical plant in Algeria; they helped the Egyptian people to build the tall Aswan Dam and helped the peoples of Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Jordan and other countries--to strengthen their economies and independence. The Beirut newspaper AN-NIDA has pointed out: "Friendship with the Soviet Union has become the chief factor in the life of any state truly striving to gain complete liberation and independence. The Arab peoples know the USSR as a real unselfish friend."

Taking into consideration its growing prestige among the Muslim peoples and the special value of the experience of building a socialist society in the union republics of the USSR, which were the regions of traditional spread of Islam, imperialism and international reaction are gambling on fabrications of the "grievous position" of believers and persecutions of Muslims in the Soviet Union. Annually, large works by bourgeois scientists-falsifiers are devoted to this "problem" invented by imperialism, as well as various articles whose authors, shedding crocodile tears, bemoan the position of Muslims in the USSR. The flow of such slanderous information in the broadcasts of Western radio stations is endless. This question is the subject of various conferences and seminars to which representatives of developing countries are invited. Knowing quite well that the number of believers in the republics of Central Asia is steadily diminishing, bourgeois sociologists inspire a number of conceptions, distorting one or another aspect of the life of the peoples of the Soviet East.

But these lies and slander are becoming increasingly obvious and are thoroughly refuted by the achievements of the peoples of the Soviet Union. They keep saying that Muslims in the Soviet Union are subjected to brutal repression and persecution," said Abdul Vakhab Zinatani, a prominent political figure from Libya, after a visit to Tashkent. "What do we see in actuality? Believers in mosques freely pray, and the cultural heritage of the peoples of the Soviet East is circumspectly preserved". Many such statements could be cited. At the same time, foreign guests cannot but help note that mosques are attended by a limited number of people--mostly by the elderly. The overwhelming majority of the population observe religious ceremonies.

In spite of this, bourgeois theoreticians search out new methods and forms, dodge and evade. Acknowledging the economic and social achievements of the republics of the Soviet east, sovietologists attempt to prove that Moscow is striving to employ this as a showcase of noncapitalist development to "third-world countries." And with the help of this argument, they carry on psychological warfare against the Soviet people. But despite all the efforts, they will not be able to attain what they wish. Under the guidance of the CPSU and the Soviet government, the peoples of the Soviet East are selflessly working shoulder to shoulder with the other peoples of the USSR, building communist society and refuting all the fabrications of the would-be friends of Muslims.

The armed action of the American imperialists in the spring of 1980 for the so-called "rescue" of the American hostages in Iran once more showed the value of assurances by statesmen that Washington was and is a "reliable defender of the interests of Islam." Let us recall the speech in 1980 of the then U.S. secretary of defense G. Brown at the New York Council on International Relations. He, expatiating on the "imaginary Soviet threat" to the East, attested to the necessity of defending the vital interests of the United States in the Near East. His speech was rated even by Western political observers as a purely colonial approach to the natural wealth of the Islamic states of the Persian Gulf.

Attempting to prove its sincerity to the Muslim peoples, American imperialism started to intensively propagandize its selfless assistance to the "fighters" for the freedom of Afghanistan, while in matter of fact conducting an undeclared war against the young republic. The Libyan newspaper AZ-ZAHAFAL'-AKHDAR write: "Surprising as it may seem, but the United States depicts itself as a defender of Islam. In describing itself to followers of Islam, the United States states that Islam is being subjected to annihilation. But no state in the world can be found which has committed half the crimes perpetrated by the United States against Islam and Muslims."

The events in Lebanon speak of how American imperialism "defends" the rights of Muslims. Employing the most barbarous types of weapons against the peaceful population--cassette, pellet and phosphorus bombs as well as napalm, the Israeli Army, armed by the United States, actually erased from the face of the earth the once flourishing Lebanese cities of Sidon, Nabatee and Tyre. Blocks of Beirut's apartments have been transformed into heaps of wrack and ruin. What sort of "protection" can a Muslim refer to here?

In observing the policy of American and Western imperialism in the East objectively and making the requisite conclusions from it, the peoples of Muslim countries are more and more convinced that all declarations of "protection" of Islam by imperialism are nothing else but a cover for their neocolonialist aims and attempts to foment religious enmity.

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CSO: 1830/553

## INTERNATIONAL

### USA INSTITUTE AIDE PARALLELS REAGAN, TRUMAN MILITARISM

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIA in Russian 1 Jul 84 p 5

[Article by Radomir Bogdanov, deputy director of the Academy of Sciences Institute of the USA and Canada, "The Engineers of the Cold War"]

[Text] I have known this American for several years. He is world famous and is known to be an insightful political scientist and an expert on U.S. foreign policy. His book occupies its place on university libraries' shelves, and his articles are read with interest by researchers in all countries of the world. He knows the history of the post-war period especially well.

The American is a frequent guest in Moscow. This time, sitting comfortably in an arm-chair, he unhurriedly talked to me. He talked about Reagan's administration policy. Suddenly, having interrupted his train of thought, he said that he was under the impression that, in Moscow, they had forgotten that 1984 is the year of the 100th birthday of President Truman. It was he who turned the American policy toward total confrontation with the Soviet Union and his entire second term (1948-1952) was marked by the "cold war" against the USSR.

I noted that the Soviet specialists remember this date. It gives us a reason to think. Naturally, it causes comparisons with the current Soviet-American relations. There are striking coincidences in the Reagan administration policy, which is oriented toward the past and worships the "cold war" dogmas, and the actions of the Truman government, which started this war.

This coincidence is not accidental. Analogous goals are being pursued: to achieve military supremacy over the USSR, to dictate to its will, to maximally decrease the borders of socialism and to destroy it from within.

President Truman occupies his place in history. In the memory of mankind he is always associated with the decision to use nuclear power against Japan, which was on the verge of capitulation anyway. And, of course, there is Truman and the "cold war", Truman and "the Marshall plan", Truman and NATO, and Truman and military adventures; these are the marks of post-war American history.

As early as 23 April 1945, at a meeting with the Soviet representatives, President Truman used expressions which, according to Admiral Leahy, a high representative of the administration, were "crude" and "not at all diplomatic". On 25 April 1945, the Secretary of War informed the president about the course of the work on nuclear weapons, and that within 4 months the first bomb would be ready. In January, 1946, he said to the Secretary of State: "I am tired of babying the Russians." A short while later he writes in one of his letters: "As long as the Russians do not encounter an iron fist, and as long as strong words are not used to address them, the next war seems inevitable... I don't think that, in the future, we should follow the route of compromise with them..."

Around March, 1946, the Truman administration completed the turn in policy and began to view the Soviet Union as a potential enemy. In 1947, the president declared the policy of "containment", which meant making plans for the destruction of the Soviet state and the intensification of international tensions, up to the transition from the "cold" war to the "hot". The ideological attack was accompanied by the arms race, unseen before and oriented toward suppressing all progressive powers in the world, intimidating the socialist countries and wearing them out economically. During that period, the U.S. justified the necessity for rearmament by the myth of the military supremacy of the Soviet Union and its "military threat".

What Soviet "military threat" could they talk about? As a result of the Hitler invasion, the USSR lost 20 million citizens. The areas subjected to occupation were in ruins. In 1945, the USSR level of production constituted 58 percent of the 1940 level. After the war, the Soviet Union carried out the demobilization of its military forces, having decreased them from 11.5 to approximately 3 million people. In 1948, the USSR military expenditures constituted only half of the U.S. military expenditures.

Why then, in this case, did the American leadership spin the myth of the aggressive plans of the USSR? The thing of it is that the hegemonistic policy of the U.S., which included the possibility of their first utilization of nuclear weapons, required the support of broad circles of society, and then, the Congress. It was especially important during the initial post-war years, when the memories of the heroism of the Soviet people, who stopped the Hitler plague, were still fresh in the minds of the Americans. The ruling class of the U.S. resorted to the weapon of disinformation regarding the USSR. The image of the "devil" from the East became implanted into the consciousness of Americans. This simple mechanism works until the present time.

At the beginning of the 70's, the realistically thinking representatives of the U.S. elite, under the influence of the new power ratio--the Soviet Union's achievement of an approximate military-strategic balance with America--began to restructure the country's foreign and military policy in a definite way.

This process has been interrupted at present. In Washington, the great-power psychology, Messianic traditions, gambling on the military power and achievement of military supremacy, prevailed again. The Reagan administration rules America under the cloud of militarism. It has subjected the common sense of its citizens to a massive work-over, convincing them to agree to different variants of nuclear war which, supposedly, promise victory to the U.S. The so-called "Soviet threat" has been inflated to a giant size.

Due to the attempts of the Reagan administration to create weapons of death, in the near future the U.S. will spend a billion (!) dollars a day, or almost 70 million dollars per minute! The sharp activization of the most aggressive wing of the American ruling class that finds itself at the steering wheel of power in Washington is pushing the world toward a nuclear holocaust. The placing of the new medium-range American missiles in Western Europe is one of their most dangerous acts.

My conversation partner, being a bourgeois political scientist, of course believed in the concept of so-called "equal responsibility": supposedly, the Soviet Union has its share of blame for the "cold war". He also maintained this in regard to the current situation. Together with this, he justly noted that the first "cold war", during the Truman period, was dictated by the desire of American capitalism to achieve world hegemony.

After a pause my conversation partner went up to a map and said: "Many in Washington have forgotten that the situation of the 80's is drastically different from that of 20 or 30 years ago. They only remember that in 1944, the U.S. spent 45 percent of the gross national product on weaponry, and only 10.5 percent in 1955. Now, America produces approximately 30 percent of the world's gross national product, and toward the end of the century this figure will probably constitute 20 percent." He asked me how could one, under these circumstances, count on achieving world hegemony? Answering his own question, he noted that the restoration of the global empire, by way of a billion dollar military expenditure, is not the solution.

Many things in the reasoning of the American guest sounded intelligent. As if continuing his thought, I was thinking that he does not even mention the most important historical event of the post-war decades--the achievement of Soviet-American military-strategical parity--which made the U.S. territory vulnerable for a return strike of revenge. It is precisely this factor that sobers up and holds back the adventurers of the "war party". I also thought that at present, many in the U.S. admit that the Reagan policy of forcefully pressuring the Soviet Union did not work. The entire concept of the "intellectual conservative complex" that theoretically justifies the hostile course of the U.S. against the Soviet Union has crumbled.

However, at present, the "war party" has real power levers at its disposal. It has direct access to the colossal nuclear warehouses and has not given up its desire "to replay" the battle they have lost during the post-war decades, by way of a nuclear war. This is why there should be no illusions regarding the seriousness of the situation.

However, there is no basis to exaggerate the capabilities that imperialism has to realize its plans. There is no need to unjustifiably attribute to it the capacity to single-handedly dictate the direction of world events and to unnecessarily dramatize the unfolding situation.

The dangerous test of power that the U.S. forces upon us is not our choice and is not our policy. Comrade K.U. Chernenko announced with determination: "If we could see the signs of true interest in achieving decisions acceptable for both parties from the American side, we would not create obstacles."

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## INTERNATIONAL

### INSTITUTE OFFICIAL WRITES ON AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY

Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 10, May 84 pp 48-50

[Article: "Africa Today: by Ye. Tarabrin, doctor of historical sciences, head of the Department of International Problems of the Africa Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences, in observance of African Independence Day, May 25th]

[Text] Africa, second in size after the continent of Eurasia, has a territory, including islands, of 30,300,000 square kilometers. The population numbers about 500,000,000 people, consisting of some 250 nations. There are 67 basic language groups, and no less than 2000 different languages and dialects. Africans profess Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Judaism and local traditional African religions.

There are 55 countries in Africa, Fifty are independent states, and are members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The Western Sahara (the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic--SADR), Namibia, (formerly South West Africa), the island St. Helena, a colony of Great Britain, Reunion, a French possession in the Indian Ocean, and South Africa, an aggressive, racist state, have not joined the OAU.

Unlike countries of other continents, the independent African states have a "collective holiday": African Independence Day. It is celebrated on May 25th, the day when in 1963 the OAU was created. The countries and peoples of Africa greet this anniversary with many achievements. But they have many problems in political, economic, social and other areas. The rash, adventurist acts of aggressive imperialist forces create, in the words of comrade K.U. Chernenko, "...extremely dangerous centers of bloody violence and military conflagration now in one, now in other regions of the world."

It was not until the second half of the 20th century that the people of the African colonies of Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain obtained their freedom. Since 1960 twenty-four countries have gained independence, after the adoption by the UN General Assembly of the historic Declaration to Grant Independence to Colonized Countries and Peoples in Africa, initiated by the Soviet Union. Even today, however, Africa's political map is not free of "black spots". In the south there remains a racist colonial

regime by which 80 percent of the black and colored population are enslaved by the white minority. This government is supported by imperialism--mainly that of the USA. The occupation of Namibia by regulars of the Republic of South Africa goes on, even though in 1966 the UN nullified the 1920 League of Nations mandate, which gave control of this territory to Pretoria. The problem of the Western Sahara has not been settled in accordance with UN and OAU resolutions. In reality, Reunion, as proclaimed in 1946 by the overseas department of France, and St. Helena, remain in the status of colonies.

The young African states, having freed themselves from slavery, entered the international arena as full and equal members of the world community. Their role and authority in foreign politics increased sharply. They comprise a third of UN membership, and more than half of the non-alignment movement. At the same time, Africa is heterogeneous and is a place of contrast. In 28 out of 50 liberated countries, the individual populations number no more than 5 million; and no more than 1 million in 14 of them. And these countries also differ markedly according to other criteria. There are republics and monarchies, governments that have chosen the revolutionary-democratic path and a socialist orientation following their liberation, and countries whose governments are establishing capitalist orders, following the lead of imperialist policies. Also characteristic of the young African states are the substantial differences in their economic situations, in the availability of natural resources and in the unique quality of their national features and traditions. All these things cannot fail to bring about their increasing differentiation. This differentiation derives from the opposition of two trends of social development--the socialist and the capitalist. About one-fourth of present-day independent African states have chosen a socialist orientation: Ethiopia, Algiers, the Congo, Angola, Genin, Tanzania, Madagascar, Mozambique and a number of others.

The legacy of the colonial past is having a negative effect on the situation in Africa. There are border problems between many of the countries. Forty-four percent of the borders, which were established during colonial times, follow latitudinal and longitudinal lines; 30 percent form straight, bow-shaped and curved, while only 26 percent are laid along natural boundaries. The great numbers of refugees are causing problems, and, too, the premeditated cultivation of rivalry between sectors of production by foreign monopolies which use them to maintain their economic positions and consolidate their influence on a neocolonial basis. But the main thing is the social and economic backwardness of the liberated countries. The imperialists are attempting to use this as an instrument of pressure on these countries to exploit them even further.

Of course, the situations in the different countries of Africa are far from being identical. Those who have chosen the socialist road to growth are making the most successful efforts to overcome difficulties.

According to UN data 21 of the 36 most underdeveloped countries of the world are African. Africa is at once the richest and poorest continent. Concentrated in its mineral resources (given in percentages as relating to known

capitalist reserves): petroleum--10, gas--15, uranium--35, diamonds--98, chromites--97, gold--70, manganese--45, cobalt--45, titanium--32, tantalum--67, bauxites--45, phosphorites--70, copper--60, lithium--25. In the majority of countries these rich natural resources are ruthlessly exploited by Western monopolies. Leading capitalist governments, satisfy their requirements by importing from Africa the following average amounts in diamonds 90 percent, cobalt--95, gold--80, platinum--85, phosphorites--70, copper--60, petroleum--35, iron ore--35, bauxites--70, manganese--97, and chromium--90 percent.

Even the USA, which, unlike the governments of Western Europe and Japan, has vast natural resources, depends increasingly on imports from developing countries, primarily Africa. It was therefore no accident that US Secretary of State George Shultz, in a mid-February speech in Boston, made special mention that Africa, a major supplier of vitally needed raw materials, is becoming increasingly important.

And at the same time, paradoxical as it seems, the overwhelming majority of African countries become poorer every year. The International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) predicts that the average per capita income of the South Saharan population will fall by 10 percent by 1990, to approximately 235 dollars. Real growth of output of products fell 2 percent in 1983. The balance of payments deficit continues to increase, and as a result, the ability to pay. In addition, the foreign debt has already reached 100 billion dollars. Everywhere in Africa, per capita foodstuff production is being reduced, raising the threat of mass famine. The 70's saw a 15 percent reduction, and this trend intensified even more by the beginning of the 80's.

These economic hardships bring on the severest social consequences. Thus, the infant mortality rate is 156 per thousand. Malnutrition causes serious mental and physical damage to more than 40 percent of children five years old and under. Less than 35 percent of school-age children attend school.

What causes such a situation? The Africans themselves answer this question. In a UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) paper it is pointed out that "...the present state of African underdevelopment is a direct result of many centuries of colonization and domination in many forms, during which like the population, the natural resources of Africa were ruthlessly exploited." Let us add that this is not just an affair of the past. The exploitation of Africa continues. The same ECA paper stated that "...no single program of economic liberation can be successfully implemented unless it undermines the foundations of the system of slavery and exploitation. A region's resources must first of all be directed to its own needs."

The neocolonialists use a variety of methods to rob the Africans. Prices on goods imported by Africa are raised, while prices on her exports are lowered. Forms of economic and social growth suitable for the genuine national interests of African countries are blocked by every means possible.

But the most pernicious role is played by the arms race, which is spurred on by the US military-industrial complex, which declares practically all Africa to be "a zone of our vital interest". So for the last ten years military expenditures have increased by approximately 15 times. During this period African governments spent over 120 billion dollars for military purposes over and above their foreign debt. In 1981 alone, the countries of Tropical Africa, which exist in a state of extreme poverty, spent more than 650 million dollars on arms imports.

Naturally the African arms buildup cannot be assessed with certitude. Individual countries are forced to look after their own defence capability in order to be able to resist aggression and defend their progressive achievements. But the fundamental cause of the arms race is the policy of American imperialism. Washington, who supplies 50 percent of Africa's arms imports, is trying to establish a long-term system of military and technical dependence on the part of these young governments, to turn individual countries into direct protectors of its interests, and to organize military bases to be used by "rapid-deployment forces". The task--to extract additional profits from the arms "business"--is set. Estimates show that the ratio of profits to revenues from African countries to which economic credits are granted is approximately 4 to 1.

There are a number of acute, unresolved political problems in Africa. They include conflicts on the Horn of Africa, in Chad, around the Western Sahara, and disputes among individual countries. However, all these problems retreat into the background when compared to the central problem: the liberation of Namibia and the elimination of the racist government in South Africa. For years, the UN, OAU, the movement of non-aligned nations and the entire progressive world community have struggled on behalf of basic human rights in South Africa, but, as they say, "...the cart hasn't budged an inch...."

What exactly keeps this racist regime afloat? The answer is well-known. This regime would have collapsed long ago, but for the direct support of international imperialism, criminal collaboration with the U.S. racists and the actual establishment of a military-political alliance, known officially as a "constructive-collaboration" agreement, between Washington and Pretoria. At the Council of OAU Ministers' Session held in early March 1984 in Addis Ababa, the fifty member-countries unanimously adopted a resolution sharply censuring the U.S. for offering support to South Africa, thanks to which the racists continue to conduct the inhumane policy of apartheid and aggression against neighboring countries.

In February and March 1984 agreements were reached between South Africa and, respectively, Angola and Mozambique which, had Pretoria observed them, could have lowered the level of military confrontation in the region. Chief among the arrangements is the obligation of South Africa to stop material and other aid to the counterrevolutionary gangs of the National Resistance Movement committing outrages in Mozambique, to cut off aid to similar formations of UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), and to remove UNITA's troops from Angola's southern provinces. It is characteristic that

the Reagan administration took the main credit for the fact that the negotiations took place and the agreements were signed. Why are Washington and Pretoria turning into "peacemakers" with the speed of werewolves?

The essence of these tactical gambits is that with their help, Reagan and company are trying to attain specific goals. The U.S. is concerned with the fact that, with forthcoming presidential elections and the failure of American policy in the Middle East, Latin America and elsewhere, the Reagan "team" needs very badly to appear, somewhere, as a peacemaker. Other aims are to take the racist South African regime out of isolation; the regime for which aggression turned into human losses and a worsened economic situation; to force the ANC [African National Congress] and SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization] liberation movements to capitulate; to destabilize progressive governments in countries neighboring South Africa; to bring about their re-transformation, and to delay the liberation of Namibia until these problems can be resolved in the imperialist ways.

What vain hopes! In fact, the diplomatic steps taken by Mozambique and Angola, as noted in the decision of the 40th Session of OAU Ministers, were taken, "...to preserve (Namibia's) independence." At the same time, some African countries are altering their positions regarding southern African problems. "Immediately eliminate racism and apartheid!" is the slogan of liberated countries. Support will increase for Namibia's heroic struggle under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole lawful representative, and for the struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of ANC. South Africa must unilaterally remove its troops from Angola and Namibia. The U.S. and South Africa must cease acts of aggression against the countries of southern Africa. These demands were stated with utmost clarity, specifically in the joint declaration of the governments of Cuba and Angola, published May 20, 1984.

The countries of Africa need peace and political stability very badly. Only in these conditions can they solve their problems. And the Soviet Union strongly supports them in this. "Our approach to African problems", emphasizes comrade K.U. Chernenko, "is fundamental and open. We pursue no interests which would oppose the hopes of the Africans themselves. At the same time we stand resolutely against turning this continent into an arena of global political, not to mention military, confrontation. And of course we categorically reject attempts to declare Africa or her individual regions as a sphere of anyone's "vital interests"."

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## INTERNATIONAL

### LAO PROVINCIAL OFFICIAL DISCUSSES NATIONAL MINORITIES

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 June 84 p 4

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent in Laos, Ye. Fadeyev: "Changes in Udomsay"]

[Text] It so happened that we travelled through the entire Udomsay province. First, we went from the north of the republic, from Phongsali, along route #4 that follows the river Nampack which curves its way among the mountains. Then, having visited the administrative center, we continued our way along the highway leading to the port of Pak Beng. The city is the key to the upper part of the Mekong river which feeds the Laotian soil for a stretch of 1850 km. The river carries its waters for 200 km in Udomsay.

Geographically, the province has always been like a center of sorts for the Northern region. It has a heroic past crystallized in the war for freedom that lasted many years; its party organization has good traditions. To signify its merits to the motherland, the province and its administrative center received the name Udomsay. "Udom" means rich, strong, and "say" is derived from "saysana"--victory. In this name one finds both deep meaning and deep symbolism.

The deputy chairman of the people's revolutionary committee in the province, Bunmi Tyalyansay, with whom we met, takes a note-book and a pen, and while unhurriedly drinking the traditional green tea, says:

"I will start with some figures, which sometimes are more eloquent than words. Five rivers flow in the province territory; it is connected to the world by six roads. Udomsay is rich with water resources and mineral resources, such as coal, iron and precious stones. It is true that their mining is still in the future, but the key to the treasures is in our hands. The mountains occupy about 70 percent of the area. This is one more characteristic feature that reflects on the socioeconomic development of Udomsay..."

"Agriculture occupies more than 40,000 hectares; of this number 7000 is for rice. This deals with irrigational farming. The mountain dwellers grow their crops on terraces. They have still maintained their cutting-

burning method of farming but, gradually it is giving way to modern agricultural methods... Five thousand hectares are occupied by corn; they also have soy, peanut and tobacco plantations. More than 50 stable cooperatives were created."

"The successes in livestock farming are also notable. Thus, compared to 8 years ago, there are 15,000 more buffalo and 5000 more cows."

"Of course, it is not easy to break the archaic domestic order of the national minorities (they constitute 77 percent of the entire population), which became established in the course of centuries," comrade Bunmi says. "Even at present, the processes that take place are far from being well-defined. The time period from the overthrow of monarchy has been too short. We need a great deal of time. Also, of primary importance are the specific activities and the specific work carried out at a high rate. However, a major success has been achieved: the people understand that they are the masters of their country and their destiny. Now, the mountain dwellers of all nationalities are the members of a unified Laotian family. Also, I would like to recall one more fact. If not so long ago, the mountain dwellers died from hunger and diseases, and the birth rate fell sharply, now, only during the last 3 years, their numbers have increased by 5000 people."

"Significant changes took place in the social and cultural life. In the province that previously was illiterate, there are practically no people who cannot read and write. In Udomsay, there are 500 grade schools, 9 high schools and 1 lycee; 663 teachers work here. Toward the end of the colonial rule there were only 2 of them. Sixty eight hospitals, clinics and dispensaries function here. The diesel station, printing house and the local broadcasting station are operational. In a word, Udomsay lives and works in unity with the entire renewed republic."

"Don't think that here we have the land of milk and honey," Ong Tyam, the province correspondent of the NRPL [People's Republic Party of Laos] Central Committee newspaper PASASON, says. "This is far from the truth. The consequences of the destructive war with the American imperialists, for instance, will be felt for a long time. To break the bonds of the past and to set oneself free from them is not at all easy during only eight years of the people's power. The geographical situation of the province also reflects on life in the province. Its neighbors are China and Thailand."

"The psychological war and the various provocations against Laos, especially in the border areas, do not stop even for a day..."

The work on building a socialist society, defending the revolutionary achievements and educating the workers are led by the communists. The local party organization is one of the highest-ranked in Laos. It is not by accident that the accountability-election conferences before the 3d Party Congress of the country started here. Speaking at a conference,

the General Secretary of the NPRL Central Committee, Kaysone Phomvihane, noted the great merits of Udomsay communists during the period of struggle with the foreign aggressors and their important role at present. This high evaluation became an incentive for the province members of the party organization.

Clear and distinct perspectives lie ahead for the province. This we could see, having visited a textile factory, several cooperatives and the port located at the confluence of the Beng and Mekong rivers.

As if summarizing our tour of the province, But Lat, the secretary of the city people's revolutionary committee and a party member since 1960, says: "In this area, without sparing our lives, we fought against the French and the American imperialists, and against the special forces of the self-proclaimed 'Meo leader', Vang Pao. Now we work in the name of the further development of the native area. It is beautiful and rich, as you yourself have seen. It is rich with both nature and people. I was born in a different place, but I fought here and was seriously wounded; here one of the units I commanded received a heroic title. How could I leave the area that became dear to my heart? I have five children. I dream that they will remain to work in Udomsay province. I want to believe that the successors will not diminish our glory."

We say good-bye to the veteran at the Mekong pier. Several orders and medals are shining on his well-ironed white shirt. These are for fighting and for working.

The local narrow Mekong stretch, as if squeezed in tightly between the shores, is behind us. On both sides, there are huts on pillars and fishing boats with their noses on the golden shores. On both sides flows the peaceful life of a peaceful people.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### ETHIOPIA SAID SUCCEEDING IN WAR AGAINST ERITREAN SEPARATISTS

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 20, Jul 84 pp 26-28

[Article by Gennady Gabrielyan: "In Step With the Whole Country"]

[Text]

"I was captured when I was gathering brushwood. They said they would shoot me if I tried to run away. But I did manage to escape." [Habte Kessefe, 11.]

"I was driving our herd out of the village. They came up to me and said: 'You're coming with us.' My mother and father wept, implored—all to no avail. I stayed in the separatist training camp for two months, and then one day hid myself in a bush during firearms drill and ran away." [Hammad Omar, 15.]

"I was with them for four and a half years, and participated in five battles. When I was a kid I thought that we were very brave people fighting for justice. Later I saw that the separatists were not winning and could not win, so I decided to take advantage of the amnesty that had been declared, and ran away when I went to fetch water for my company." [Wongel Toalde, 19.]

These are merely a few of the stories I heard in Asmara, the administrative centre of the northern Ethiopian province of Eritrea; an assembly point was set up here to take in people who had left the separatist units and come over to the government side. The majority of them are teenage boys.

But there in the throng is an elderly man. It turns out that he is only 40 and has spent ten years with the separatists. After breaking with them, Tekle Wolde-Libanos found himself in Sudan, from where he was repatriated. I asked him how he had reached his decision to return. His halting answer was that he understood life was passing him by and the separatists would never achieve any peace. During all those years he had been permitted to see his wife and sons only once. He wanted to go back to ploughing.

Another story. Eighteen-year-old Akwaret Gebre-Amlak had recently returned from out there and given birth to a daughter. Her husband was still on the other side, for they had not succeeded in getting away

together. Akwaret was looking forward eagerly to his return.

During its five years of existence, this assembly point has catered for 12,000 people. Each one of them has paid for his return by the time deleted from life. Here they learned what the revolution had achieved in its almost ten years, were given either money or grain to get home and were completely reinstated as full-fledged citizens.

Our journey through Eritrea was planned so as to emphasize the contrast between the separatists, who still operate in out-of-the-way nooks that are of no essential significance, and people's power in the most important areas.

#### Massawa

Massawa, a Red Sea port, welcomed us with an unbearable heat wave and a placid blue sea. On the piers large cranes moved heavy cargo; a little locomotive pulled small cars back and forth right under the hotel windows. I recall what I saw here five years ago, just after

the separatist bands had been ousted: piles of rubble instead of residential areas, the pockmarks of bullets on those walls still standing and almost no people at all. Not only did the separatists ransack the city, they also forced thousands of its inhabitants to leave.

"We had to work very hard to restore what was destroyed by the separatists: the seaport, the airport, hospitals and schools," said Girmaye Kidane-Mariam, a representative of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) in the Massawa District.

With Ethiopian passion for detail he gave us the exact figures for the money spent revitalizing the city—a total of 10 million birr (about \$5 million). Attention centres chiefly on housing. Port employees live in rent-free homes (excellent cottages, as we saw for ourselves, on the seashore!), and others are housed as opportunities arise.

On the separatists, Kidane-Mariam said that what they want is to tear Eritrea from the rest of Ethiopia, and place it under the control of the reactionary Arab regimes that are striving to declare themselves the "rulers" of the Red Sea. "Well," said Girmaye, with a wry smile, "just who the backers of these regimes are is also quite clear..." (I recalled the now peaceful Gurgusum beach where, in the spring of 1979, an exposition of the arms captured from the separatists was mounted. The trademarks of well-known American and West European military concerns left no doubt as to their origin.) "Funds for restoration," continued the COPWE representative, "arrive from many parts of the country."

Thirty cities have decided to collect money—more than two and a half million birr—to help Massawa rebuild itself.

### Keren

In one of the local dialects "keren" means "stone." I was here five years ago. What I saw was a ruthlessly destroyed hospital, a blown-up power station, a damaged pump-house—the separatists did their utmost to make life unbearable for the people. Now we again visited the same places. It is no exaggeration to say that the

life of the town depends on them. Everything has been restored, rebuilt and repaired.

In the town one may see armed patrols. However, as I was told by the district administrator, Musie Beket, all organized separatist groups have long since been routed. If a chance group of two-three people does appear in a village the peasants, now armed by the authorities, arrest them. "The enemies can no longer bank on the understanding and sympathy of the local population," adds the chairman of the municipal council, Affa Gebre. "An endless war into which Eritreans have been forced by the 'fighters for independence,' or a peaceful, creative life, the opportunity to overcome illiteracy and send their children to school. What do you think a person would choose?"

Children are an object of special concern. Every day the municipal council feeds 220 children from the most needy families. We were present when this large "family" was heartily spooning up rice porridge. In the same spacious courtyard a temporary camp for refugee repatriates driven out to neighbouring Sudan by the separatists has also been set up. The refugees stop over here for a few days, receive government aid and then return to their native villages or towns.

Our conversation reverted to the problem of the coexistence of people of different nationalities. The population of Keren District is made up mainly of three tribes: the Tigre, Tigrigna and Bilen. The feudal-monarchist regime intentionally fomented discord among them, which was not so difficult if we take into consideration the ignorance of the peasants at that time. A member of the local COPWE cell, Hagos Gebre Ekziabher, is anxious to make us understand what is most important: it was not the decrees as such that made people of different nationalities equal after the revolution, but the fact that they all received land grants on an equal basis, and that they now have the right to be elected to any administrative body.

Keren was a trailblazer in the field of certain social projects, above all in mother-and-child care. Besides the dining-room there is a free women's medical consultation centre,

as well as a nursery school where the nominal monthly charge for a child is 1 birr.

### Asmara

The centre of Eritrea is Asmara, the second largest city in the country. We had a chat with its Mayor, Afework Berhane. He has his hands full: 350,000 people live in Asmara and its suburbs, and almost a third of the economic potential of all of Ethiopia is centred here (the textile, footwear, food and glassware industries, as well as many types of processing enterprises). He noted enthusiastically that the 100 million birr allotted by the state to Asmara has made it possible for its enterprises to start operating at full capacity. "This will reduce unemployment which, although not great, is making itself felt. We are looking forward to an influx of young workers from local areas," stressed Afework Berhane. "It is important to make a good start!"

We might add that the psychological climate necessary for such a start is being created. Take the shoe factory we visited. Prior to the revolution the workers were paid by the piece. If someone slowed down or, still worse, missed a day through illness he was paid less. Now a differentiated rate has been established, with all the specific features of all the trades taken into account, a trade union and a COPWE cell have been created, as well as a workers' control committee. The factory has its own polyclinic and a "down-with-illiteracy" school. The people are grateful for these concerns and they do their best to raise the quality of production. The results are already obvious: the goods manufactured here are exported to the neighbouring Republic of Djibouti.

Asmara, an industrial city, has, of late, become a centre for training instructors in agriculture. A special school, funded by the state, has been opened. Every three months 250 peasants from all parts of Eritrea are enrolled. They study the ABC of the co-operative movement and the principles of agrotechnology and animal husbandry. In the large courtyard of this school, under the shade of jacaranda trees, stand model houses for people of different nationalities. Both existing traditions

and modern requirements were taken into account when the layouts and furnishing of these houses were projected. In the school library I saw the model of a village of the future: it was made of cardboard, paper and plasticine by none-too-skilful hands. A solar power station, a club, a sports complex—this is largely a dream, but a realistic dream.

In Eritrea, for understandable reasons, the formation of youth and women's organizations was somewhat delayed. However, they have now quite caught up with the times. The provincial Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA) has 45,000 members. Its chairman, Kiflezgi Wolde-Selassie, stressed the important change that is, in his opinion, taking place in the minds of the young people: they are beginning to think in civic terms. Hence the great popularity of voluntary labour (we would say—labour based on social principles). REYA members plant out future forests, build and repair roads, help with the harvesting, campaign for the liquidation of illiteracy. At industrial enterprises Sunday volunteer work is not rare, the money so earned is poured into a public fund.

Many of the old concepts are undergoing radical change in the minds of the women, too. Sociologists note that before the revolution women in Ethiopia were doubly oppressed—by society and by their families. The chairwoman of the Eritrea section of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Women's Association (REWA), Teka Meheri, said that they have undertaken far-reaching tasks. "We want the woman, while remaining a housewife, to be able to participate in the building of a new society. For this we all have to do a great deal. We have to free the woman of illiteracy, raise her general cultural level, teach her at least some trade, so as to make her feel her independence. All this is being furthered by the efforts of almost 90,000 women who have entered the Eritrea section of REWA."

That same day we visited Mekane Hiwot, the largest hospital in the province. Almost half of its staff are Soviet doctors. We were very happy

to meet our countrymen, the Butsyks and the Akhmerovs. The first couple come from Smolensk, the second—from Kazan. In speaking about the Soviet medics, the director of the hospital, Dr Musie Gebre-Mikael, said they were knowledgeable, conscientious specialists who were always ready to come to people's aid.

Our final talk took place in the office of Teferra Wonde, a COPWE representative in Eritrea. The former Minister of Public Health has been entrusted with the difficult task of uniting leading figures of the province who could become members of the vanguard party of working people.

"The separatists are continuing their activities in areas of Eritrea that are hard to reach, but this is solely due to the fact that they are supplied with arms and money by imperialist circles and certain Arab states," said Teferra Wonde. "The separatists are well armed and they still control certain parts of Eritrea which, however, are of no strategic importance. The future of the separatists is certain: with every passing day their social basis is becoming narrower. Their reserves are exhausted. At present they recruit—

if one were to designate forced abduction as such—children and adolescents. Naturally, the Ethiopian Revolutionary Army is forced to engage in military actions in order to completely eliminate separatism, although the government—as has been repeatedly stressed—is in favour of a political solution of the problem. The separatists, however, do not understand the language of peace. Having once refused to admit that after the revolution their striving to get Eritrea to secede from Ethiopia has become, in essence, a reactionary cause, their movement has reached an ideological deadlock and they have become the tools of reaction."

In summing up what we had seen, Wonde told us that within the framework of the multi-aim Red Star Revolutionary Development Campaign (as the complex of measures for securing the complete regeneration of the province is called) Eritrea has been allotted supplementary budget grants—236 million birr. This money has been invested in various branches of agriculture and industry, in social welfare, culture and sports. "The Eritreans strive for peace and they will achieve it," emphasized Teferra Wonde.

CSO: 1812/262

## INTERNATIONAL

### PRAVDA LAUDS FAR EAST TIES WITH NEIGHBORING DPRK PROVINCE

#### PRAVDA Article

PM091641 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 July 1984 first edition carries on page 4 a 1,400-word Pyongyang dispatch entitled "Horizons of Renewal" by own correspondent V. Razuvayev. The article, carried under the rubric "From the Socialist Countries" and datelined July, is pegged to the 23d anniversary of the Soviet-DPRK treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance. After describing monuments to the Soviet army for its part in liberating Korea from Japan in World War II, Razuvayev outlines ways in which Soviet-DPRK ties have been strengthened since then and since the treaty was signed, particularly in trade. "In exchange for essential Soviet goods, the DPRK has been annually increasing its deliveries of rolled ferrous and non-ferrous metals and magnesite clinker...various machine building, chemical, textile, and other industrial goods are dispatched from here, as are fresh fruit and vegetables. A large proportion of this freight is sent to parts of Siberia and the Far East, which makes it possible not only to supply these regions with essential goods more fully but also to reduce transport costs.

"There is also high praise here for the fruitful character of the cooperation between our countries in the scientific, technical, and cultural spheres."

Razuvayev cites the "warm praise" of DPRK officials for the contribution made by Soviet workers to the DPRK's economic development and notes that the prospects for cooperation between the two countries are "unlimited."

#### Broadcast in Korean

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[Summary of PRAVDA article by correspondent V. Razuvayev from Pyongyang on the 23d anniversary of the signing of treaty for friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid between the Soviet Union and DPRK]

[Text] Whenever we visit North Hamgyong Province, we see an impressive sight of reforms and rapid development. Adjacent to the Soviet Primorskiy Kray, this mountainous region is known as the heart of steel production in the country. In this region, we can see plants, enterprises, collieries, and mines everywhere in the form of complexes, which are of great significance

in economic life in the DPRK. North Hamgyong Province produces the largest portion of steel, rolled steel, ore, coal, machines, machine tools, goods produced in the DPRK.

Chongjin is the administrative and industrial center of North Hamgyong Province. Chongjin is the first large Korean city that was liberated by the Soviet Army in August 1945 from the yoke of the Japanese colonialists. This is shown by a monument that was built on the slope of Mount (Komei) to commemorate the event.

Kim Un-hae, vice chairman of the Chongjin Municipal People's Committee, said: While building this monument, citizens sincerely expressed thanks to officers and men of the Soviet Army who sacrificed their lives in the battle to liberate Chongjin. We will remember their feats forever.

As is the case in many Soviet cities, there are many monuments in Chongjin symbolizing friendship between the peoples of our two countries. These monuments include not only monumental towers built in memory of officers and men of the Soviet Army but also large enterprises. In Korea, there are over 60 large enterprises built with Soviet cooperation.

Friendly ties and cooperation have been continuously strengthened and developed, bringing about rich fruits for both sides. Just as all the Korean workers did, the Chongjin citizens appreciated with satisfaction the recent visit to the Soviet Union by the party and government delegation led by Comrade Kim Il-song. They believe firmly that this visit will contribute to raising the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, between the countries, and between the peoples onto a new, higher developmental stage.

Chongjin is called the Republic's sea gate. Millions of tons of cargo are handled there every year. Together with Kim Pyong-tae, port engineer, I toured the pier, which encompasses several kilometers. On the pier, cranes were loading cargo into ships. Kim Pyong-tae said: Ships with the Soviet national flag frequently visit our port. Soviet ships bring machines, equipment, chrome steel, manganese steel to our country and carry out plants' products back home.

Standing on the pier, I saw that trade between the Soviet Union and Korea has increased greatly. In return for the import of goods needed in the Republic, the DPRK has increased the export of rolled steel, goods of nonferrous metal, and magnesia clinker with the passage of time. The port exports various goods from machine manufacturing, chemical, textile, and other industrial sectors, including fresh vegetable and fruit. Majority of these cargoes are shipped to Siberia and the Far East region of the Soviet Union, not only much more smoothly meeting the demand of goods needed in these regions but also helping reduce transportation expenditures.

The successful cooperation between our countries in the scientific, technical, and cultural sectors has appreciated highly. For example, the Soviet Union has transferred to the Republic technological materials that are needed in

solving important questions concerning the people's economy. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has received interesting materials on the production of some scientific and other goods.

Just as Korean friends pointed out, groups of workers and scientists in Chongjin and North Hamgyong Province have contributed to developing reciprocal cooperation.

Some of these groups have maintained solid ties with their neighbors, the Soviet Primorskiy Kray, have exchanged good experiences, and have regularly exchanged delegations.

Kim Pyong-tae suggested that I visit metallurgical workers at the Kim Chaek steel mill.

The facilities of the Kim Chaek steel mill, the largest one in the Republic, are situated on a slope not far from the Korean East Sea with Chikdo Village in the middle. The first cast steel workshop, the coal furnace workshop, [word indistinct], the machine repair workshop are situated on the left side of the slope. Facilities situated on the right side of the slope were built recently. They include the oxygen furnace workshop, the steel rolling workshop, and other workshops that were built in recent years with Soviet technical cooperation. These workshops have produced a million tons of steel and rolled steel annually.

The deputy manager of the steel plant recalled with affection Soviet technicians and workers who contributed to building workshops, to assembling equipment, and to training Korean fellow workers by telling their experiences to their Korean counterparts and by helping them acquire techniques. The deputy manager noted with satisfaction the fact that cooperation with the Soviet Union has continued in the primary work of the steel mill.

The first stage work of expanding the production facilities on the right side of the slope--the work of building the third furnace, another furnace, and some of other facilities--has begun. When these production facilities are inaugurated, steel production will reach 2,400,000 tons. Steel will be processed into steel plates through the method of hot rolling.

While implementing the decision of the Sixth WPK Congress to increase steel production greatly the employees of the steel plant have begun to build the third cast steel workshop. When the project of building new facilities at the Kim Chaek steel mill is completed, this enterprise will produce 6 million tons of steel annually.

Metallurgical, energy, chemical, and construction workers carried out their work in a storming manner worthy of the vanguard of the working class.

## INTERNATIONAL

### UZBEK RODINA SOCIETY HEAD ON TIES TO EMIGRES IN WEST

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek 27 April 1984 carries on page 3 a 2,700-word newspaper interview with Ramz Bobojon, Laureate of the USSR State Prize and chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbekistan Homeland Society, titled "Your Mother Country is Your Gold Cradle." Bobojonov states that the goal of the Homeland Society is to establish and conduct relations with compatriots who, for various reasons, spend their lives in foreign lands. These compatriots belong to different social groups and hold different worldviews and ideologies, but most of them miss the country where they or their fathers were born. The Homeland Society tries to ease their longing and keep them informed of Uzbekistan's social, cultural and economic achievements. Beside various other methods and techniques of implementing its program the Homeland Society publishes a newspaper OYDIN and operates a radio station VATANDOSH through which compatriots abroad may stay abreast of developments. In addition, the Homeland Society publishes each year a series of booklets which familiarize compatriots with outstanding works by Uzbek writers and with Uzbekistan and its people. Compatriots send samples of their work to the society which publishes them in OYDIN or broadcasts them over VATANDOSH. A collection of their poetry titled "Sening Sha'ningga, Olkam!" ("In Your Honor, My Region!") was published by the society, and received warm reviews by the HEVOD and YULDUZ newspapers printed in the United States. It included a poem by Ergash Uchqun, who lives in America. Compatriots abroad have formed a few centers and societies; for example, "The Cultural Society of Turkestani Patriots in West Germany" includes most compatriots living in that country, and "The Mutual Assistance Society for Turkestanis in America" serves those in the United States. The Homeland Society maintains relations with these organizations, and conducts them on an equal basis without interference in one another's internal affairs.

Compatriots abroad who are friendly and open to Soviet Uzbekistan are in the majority. Although their worldviews differ they have feelings of homeland, mother soil, and childhood which link them to Uzbekistan. Bobojon recalls that on one of his trips to America he stayed in the home of a compatriot, who showed him a handful of dirt sent to him by relatives in Uzbekistan. His children were to sprinkle the dirt over his grave. Such compatriots still have a spiritual bond to their homeland. But, there is another kind of compatriotic who soils the name of compatriotic, who views the prosperous life of the Soviet Union. Such compatriots seek to distort the Leninist ideas of the friendship of peoples and internationalism, and to spread dissension among nationalities in order to drive a wedge between them. Such compatriots sell out their native lands and their parents and relatives to various spy agencies, including the CIA, and to Voice of America and Radio Liberty.



## INTERNATIONAL

### SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' ROLE IN PEACE STRUGGLE PRAISED, CRITICIZED

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 3, May-June 84 pp 117-125

[Article by Professor V. A. Nikitin, doctor of philosophical sciences:  
"The Struggle for Peace and the Modern-Day Social Democrats"]

[Text] As noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the struggle for peace, for a weakening of the threat of war, and a curbing of the arms race in our times have taken on particular importance and urgency (See: "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 26).

The imperialist reaction especially in the United States, in striving to return social development back in favor of capitalism and, if not to prevent, then at least to delay the process of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, since the end of the 1970's has begun and continued to wage a policy of social revenge along the entire front of the opposition between the two social systems. Herein it has utilized various means but has advanced to the foreground an aggressive foreign policy, militarism, and the arms race. As K. U. Chernenko noted at a meeting with the voters of the Kuybyshev Electoral District in Moscow, "recent years have been marked by a sharp activation of the policy of the most aggressive forces of American imperialism--the policy of open militarism, pretensions to world domination, resistance to progress, and the violation of peoples' rights and liberty" (K. U. Chernenko, "Narod i partiya ediny" [The People and the Party Are Unified], Moscow, 1984, p 22). An extremely tense international situation has arisen on this foundation, and the question of mankind's very existence on our planet has been posed more and more sharply.

It is fully in accord with principle that this irrational policy of U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies, fraught with perilous consequences for all countries, has called forth a new wave of the powerful anti-war movement, in which millions of people of diverse ideological and political views have united. In the first ranks of the fighters for peace march, as always, the Communists, for whom the struggle to maintain peace on Earth is the connecting-rod of their foreign-policy activity. "The threat of nuclear war which is hanging over the world," it was emphasized at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "has aroused us anew to evaluate the basic meaning of the activity of the entire Communist movement. Communists have always been fighters against the oppression and exploitation of man by man, while today they are also fighting for the preservation of human civilization, for a human being's right to life" ("Materialy Plenuma TsK KPSS, 14--15 iyunya 1983" [Materials of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, 14--15 June 1983], Moscow, 1983, p 20).

Marching in the vanguard of the present-day, powerful, anti-war movement, the Communists advocate the unification in this movement of all progressive, democratic forces. Of particular importance in this connection is the question of the positions taken on the problem of war and peace by the Social Democratic and Socialist Parties which are included in the Socialist International. The Socialist International constitutes a major political force within the international labor movement and in the political life of the contemporary capitalist countries. Its ranks now comprise (according to the Socialist International's own data) 75 parties and organizations, combining more than 20 million people in Europe, as well as in Asia, Africa, America, Australia, and Oceania. In the elections to the organs of state power in the capitalist countries more than 200 million voters vote for the Social Democrats and the Socialists (See: DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, 1983, Vol 5, p 442). In certain states they head up single-party or coalition-type governments (Austria, Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Finland, Sweden, and others).

It should be noted that in all the official documents of the Socialist International as well as of the Social Democratic and Socialist Parties which are members of it the Social Democracy is depicted as a fighter for peace and an opponent of war. As far back as the Frankfurt Declaration, entitled "Goals and Tasks of Democratic Socialism," as adopted at the First Congress of the Socialist International in July 1951, and which has continued to retain even in our own times importance as an official program of the international Social Democracy, the following statement was registered: "Democratic socialism sees in the maintaining of peace the most important task of our times" (SOZIALISTISCHE WELTSTIMMEN, Berlin--Hannover, 1958, p 308). "Socialists are fighting for a society of peace and freedom," it was declared in another important document of the Socialist International entitled "Peace Today: Socialist Prospects" (VORWARTS, 20 June 1962). In the same vein the views of the Social Democrats were set forth on the problem of war and peace in the documents of the ensuing congresses, conferences, and sessions of the management organs of the Socialist International, likewise including the 16th Congress, which was held in April 1983.

The Social Democratic leaders and theoreticians officially explain their peace-loving and anti-war bent by the fact that the "democratic socialism" which is propagated by them as the socio-political ideal of humanity can be carried out only under favorable foreign-policy conditions, amid circumstances of an international peace. "The struggle for peace is inextricably bound up with the struggle for freedom," affirms the Frankfurt Declaration (SOZIALISTISCHE WELTSTIMMEN, p 308). "A lasting and firm peace belongs among the unconditional prerequisites without which it is impossible to implement the goals of democratic socialism," emphasizes the recent program document of the FRG's Social Democrats entitled "OP-85." ("Okonomisch-politischen Rahmen fur die Jahre, 1976--1985," Bonn, 1976, A. 2, 1, 1). Moreover, in certain Social Democratic documents and publications the preservation of peace on Earth and the preservation of war are linked, for the most part, with the Social Democratic movement, with the assertion of the principles of "democratic socialism" throughout the world. "A stable and lasting peaceful order," wrote the Social Democrats from the FRG, W. Miller and F. Vilmar, "can be created only if the system of democratic socialism is successfully implemented throughout the entire world" (W. Miller and F. Vilmar, "Sozialistische Friedenspolitik fur Europa," Hamburg, 1972, p 72).

In analyzing the contents of the views and the foreign-policy activity of the Social Democrats with regard to the problem of war and peace, there is manifested with particular obviousness the pretentious nature of the attempts to present the Social Democratic movement as the principal anti-war factor of the present day. The basic documents of the Socialist International, while characterizing the positions of the international Social Democracy, do not express all the complexity and contradictory nature of the foreign-policy concepts and actions of the present-day Social Democratic movement with regard to the problem of war and peace.

As has been demonstrated in the works of Soviet and foreign Marxist scholars, an intensification of positive factors has been observed in the foreign-policy ideas and positions of the present-day Social Democracy, but not in a single major stage of development of international relations during the post-war period (the "cold war" at the end of the 1940's and the 1950's, the lessening of international tension during the 1960's and 1970's, the struggle to maintain detente, against the arms race during the 1980's) were these views and positions simple.<sup>1</sup> Knowing about and taking into account the complexity and contradictory aspects of views and actions of the Social Democracy is of great ideological and political importance for successfully solving the problem of unified actions by Communists, Social Democrats, and Socialists in the struggle for peace, against the threat of war, and for multiplying the forces of the present-day international anti-war movement.

Let's begin then with the above-mentioned Frankfurt Declaration. It was adopted at the peak of the notorious "cold war," which had been unleashed on the world by the imperialists of the United States and the countries of Western Europe which were members of the aggressive NATO bloc, and it was designed to "hurl back" communism on an international scale. It reflected the anti-communist hysteria unleashed by the imperialists as well as the policy of knocking together aggressive military-political blocs in Western Europe and on other continents against the socialist countries, and direct attacks against the international communist and national-liberation movements. During these years the Social Democratic leaders and theoreticians were faced with a choice. On the one hand, they could not fail to take into consideration the lessons of the past and the threat of a new world war, a threat for which the imperialists were to blame, and chiefly--the well-developed, worldwide movement of the peace advocates, the lack of desire on the part of the working class, as well as other strata of the working people, to become cannon fodder. On the other hand, the Social Democratic leaders did not wish to reject the active encouragement by the ruling circles of imperialism with regard to joint participation in governing the capitalist states. And they found nothing better than embarking upon the path of supporting the foreign policy of the United States and its NATO allies, covering this up with slogans about peace and collective security.

In accordance with this, the program declaration of the First Congress of the Socialist International depicted the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as those guilty of international tension during those years; to them was ascribed aggressiveness, stemming supposedly from the "totalitarian" nature of their social system. The United States and the Western capitalist states were presented as being for the "free world," while their policy of aggression, the arms race, the creation of blocs and military bases on other people's territories were portrayed as "defensive measures" for saving the world from the "communist menace." The task of the international Social Democratic movement boiled

down to support of the "Atlantic Policy" of the foreign-policy actions of the United States, which was depicted as the "defender of peace."

At that time the overwhelming majority of the Social Democratic leaders agreed with the revival of militarism in West Germany, and they expressed themselves in support of the NATO bloc. The pro-imperialist nature of their policy was manifested with particular openness with regard to the Anglo-Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956. It is well known that at that time Socialists were in the government of France and Israel, and, under their leadership or with their support, there was carried out the annexation of the territory of a country which had embarked upon the path of national-liberation development.

The Social Democratic leaders rendered active aid to imperialism in conducting subversive activity against the USSR and other socialist countries. This was manifested most clearly with regard to the counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary during 1956. The Social Democratic leaders went so far as to call the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries "freedom fighters," and they called upon all the parties within the Socialist International to employ all means of support for these counter-revolutionaries. And after the revolt was put down, the Social Democratic leaders "solemnly protested" against the international actions of the Soviet Union, and they continued to render moral, political, and financial support to subversive elements within Hungary.

During the years of the "cold war" not a single Social Democratic party of Western Europe came out in support of the initiatives put forth at that time by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries with regard to questions of relaxing international tension, eliminating the threat of war, and putting an end to the arms race. To the contrary, the council of the Socialist International in 1962 accused the USSR of aggression and depicted the aggressive NATO bloc as a "bulwark of peace;" it also expressed support for the policy of supplying this military bloc with nuclear weapons.

However, even during those years the international Social Democracy could not completely ignore the growing movement of the peoples of the entire world against the danger of war, along with the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR and the other socialist countries, the rapid development in them of the economy, culture, science and technology, the growth of the labor and communist movements, and the stormy upsurge of the national-liberation movement. At the same time the U.S. war in Vietnam, the policy of implanting military dictatorships and organizing bloody interventions in the Latin American countries with progressive regimes which were unsuitable to imperialism, imperialism's subversive activities and interference in the internal affairs of the African countries, the Israeli aggression against the Arab states, the growth of revanchist aspirations of the FRG's militarism, playing a part in aiding fascism in Greece --all this and a great deal else which was done during the 1960's and early 1970's by U.S. imperialism and its allies at first gave rise to doubts among the peace-loving community and then convinced it more and more of the irrationality of the "cold war" policy, the invalidity of the myth of the "Soviet threat and demonstrated the lack of prospects in the policy of acting "from a position of strength" in relations with the USSR and the other socialist states. Under the influence of these and other factors, the capitalist world was compelled to do business with the socialist states, based on the principles of peaceful co-existence.

Under these conditions shifts began to be noted toward realism in the Social Democrats' foreign-policy views and positions. Thus, at the Sixth Congress of the Socialist International (Hamburg, 1959) the following declaration was made: "We cannot build our democratic socialism on the ruins of mankind, which are all that would remain if a third world war occurs. Our highest goal, therefore, must be to ensure peace" (SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION, 1959, No 30, p 439). The resolutions of this congress reflected a demand that an end be put to the "cold war," along with a ban on testing nuclear weapons, the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Europe, etc. In the declaration made by the Socialist International's council in 1962 it was stated more specifically that the Social Democratic and Socialist parties were striving to "put an end to the cold war," and that they did not consider the "split-up of the world into mutually opposing blocs to be something eternal." It also registered the demands for universal disarmament, a ban on the production and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons; it posed the task of "putting an end to the cold war" and "solving all the disputed problems by peaceful means." The Eighth Congress of the Socialist International (Amsterdam, 1963) approved the concluding of the Moscow Treaty on Banning the Testing of Nuclear Weapons. Resounding within it were calls for working out a more independent, "socialist" policy of the International in solving international problems.

A number of Social Democratic parties advocated improvement of relations and development of cooperation with the socialist countries, for the signing of a non-aggression treaty between NATO and the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty, bilateral and multi-lateral agreements on abandoning the use of force in international relations. During the second half of the 1960's most of the Western European Social Democratic parties openly supported the proposals of the socialist countries with regard to the questions of normalizing international relations. To be sure, the international aid provided by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to Czechoslovakia in 1968 for the purpose of preventing a counter-revolutionary coup was utilized by right-wing forces as an excuse for a new anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign among the ranks of the Social Democrats. But it was already impossible to halt the process of the development of positive tendencies in its foreign-policy views and positions. The 11th Congress of the Socialist International (Eastbourne, 1969) approved the proposal approved the proposal to convoke a Conference on European Security and Cooperation. The 12th Congress (Vienna, 1972) approved the agreement which was achieved between the USSR and the United States about strategic arms limitations.

The resolution of the 13th Congress (Vancouver, 1976) at which a new leadership of the Socialist International was elected, headed up by W. Brandt and which proclaimed the struggle for a "guaranteed peace" as an important task for the international activity of the Social Democracy, as well as the ensuing congresses, including the 16th, have shown that these positive shifts in the positions of the Social Democracy in the field of foreign policy were not chance episodes. This pertains particularly to the SDPG [Social Democratic Party of Germany], which during the 1960's and early 1970's made the transition from revanchist slogans such as demands to "return to the 1937 borders" to a policy of an officially international-legal affirmation of the borders in Europe, based on treaties concluded by the government of the FRG headed up by the Social Democrats, with the USSR and the European countries of the socialist community, to a policy of developing, economic, cultural, and scientific and technical ties with them.

During these years there has also occurred a positive re-evaluation of the foreign-policy positions of Finland's Social Democratic Party, which has embarked on a path of conducting a foreign-policy course with regard to the USSR, based on the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid between the Soviet Union and Finland. The Socialists of Austria and Belgium, as well as the Social Democrats of Sweden, have likewise embarked upon a course directed at lessening international tension and at peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems. The Social Democratic and Socialist parties have condemned the fascist coup in Chile, welcomed the elimination of the fascist regimes in Portugal and Greece, demanded the cessation of the war in Vietnam, actively participated in the preparation and holding of the All-European Conference of Heads of States and Governments in Helsinki (1975).

But the process of "re-evaluating the values" in the foreign policy of the international Social Democracy has developed in a contradictory manner. The retention in its ideology and policy of anti-communist positions and the adherence to "Atlantic solidarity" have hindered it from correctly evaluating the essence of the peace-loving policy of the member-countries of the Warsaw Pact, retarded the process of shifts toward realism, weakened, on the whole, the movement of the peace-loving forces against the military danger, as well as the struggle for peace throughout the world. However, these negative factors can no longer disrupt the over-all positive process. The exacerbation of the international situation in the late 1970's and early 1980's, which is the fault of the imperialist reactionaries, above all, those of the United States, has become a test of this process for strength and good prospects.

The turning of the imperialist reactionaries to a "cold war" policy and the struggle which has been unleashed by the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, the peace-loving forces on Earth to return to a lessening of international tension have placed the international Social Democracy in a difficult position. The continuation of shifts in their foreign-policy views and actions cannot fail to come into conflict with the principles of "Atlanticism" and the "defense of the free world." Under these conditions a trend has taken shape in the ranks of the Social Democrats, a trend which has continued to advocate the maintaining of detente, the supplementing of political detente with a military detente, for the adoption of measures to curb the arms race (See S. S. Salychev, "Sotsial-demokratiya v sovremennom mire" [The Social Democracy in the Present-Day World], pp 48-49). Under the influence of this trend at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's a further accumulation of positive factors was observed in Social Democratic policy and ideology with regard to questions of international relations.

In April 1978 Helsinki witnessed the Conference of the Socialist International on Disarmament--the first forum on such a problem in the history of the Social Democracy during the post-war period. It was also attended for the first time in the history of Social Democratic forums by a representative of the CPSU. Many ideas of this conference were supported at the 14th Congress of the Socialist International (Vancouver, 1978), the resolutions of which noted the necessity for guaranteeing the policy of detente and supplementing it by agreements in the military sphere, curtailing military outlays as an important condition of continuing the policy of detente and solving the social problems of society's development. The 15th Congress (Madrid, 1980) directly declared the Socialist

International's adherence to a policy of detent. "Even now we are convinced that there is no alternative to the process of detente as a path to peace, security, and international cooperation," it noted in its resolution (SOCIALIST AFFAIRS, No 1, 1981, p 27). In connection with this, the congress expressed its well-founded fears regarding the danger that the U.S. foreign-policy course would complicate the process, and it specified more precisely the formula for calling for active deeds with regard to the problem of disarmament. The president of the Socialist International, W. Brandt, stated the following at this congress: "When it is a matter of mankind's survival, the Socialist International cannot limit itself to adopting resolutions, no matter how fine they may be in themselves. We need to manifest the will to change the course of events" (Ibid.).

A specific step in the positive development of the foreign-policy views of the international Social Democracy was comprised by the resolutions of the 16th Congress of the Socialist International (Albufeira, 1983). In its resolutions this congress called for the achievement of specific results in negotiations on disarmament, and it decisively rejected limited nuclear war as an invalid concept. Particular notice must be taken of the change of attitude on the part of the Social Democracy toward the anti-war movement, as registered in the resolutions of this congress. The manifesto which the congress adopted expressed serious concern over the growth of nuclear weapons and a striving to cooperate with other peace-loving forces. "Nuclear disarmament pertains to every man, woman, and child," it states, "and we will, as before, cooperate with persons of all convictions and faiths with regard to this fundamental question. It is a matter of mankind's survival" (DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, 1983, Vol 5, p 434).

For the first time the Socialist International had expressed its approval so clearly of the anti-war movement, which during the 1940's and 1950's it had treated as "pro-communist" and during the 1970's had belittled because of their supposedly minor influence on the fate of the world. All these ideas were developed at the session of the Socialist International Buro, as held in Brussels in 1983. The buro members advocated the concluding between the NATO countries and the member-states of the Warsaw Pact of an agreement on the non-use of force; it should also include a pledge to refrain from first-strike use of nuclear and conventional weapons with the subsequent, gradual reduction of the existing nuclear arsenals in the world under effective international controls (See: PRAVDA, 1 December 1983).

The retention and further accumulation of positive factors in the foreign-policy views and positions of the international Social Democracy during the late 1970's and early 1980's constitute a reflection of the growing anti-war mood during these years among the peoples of the world in the consciousness of the laboring masses--the members of the Social Democratic and Socialist parties. In connection with this, we cannot help noting the substantial changes in positions with regard to international questions on the part of the Social Democrats of the FRG, who play a large role among not only European but also international Social Democrats. At the end of the 1970's a portion of the SDPG leadership, in particular, the FRG government headed up by the deputy chairman of the Party Board, H. Schmidt, was the initiator of the notorious NATO "dual solution" concerning the deployment of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. At the SDPG Congress which was held in Cologne in

November 1983 this position was rejected. The congress's resolution carefully noted the following: "The SDFG rejects the deployment of the new American medium-range systems on the territory of the Federal Republic..." (Quoted in PRAVDA, 21 November 1983). This was confirmed by the chairman of the SDFG faction in the Bundestag, G.-J. Vogel, at a meeting with K. U. Chernenko. "...the SDFG," he said, "advocates a firming up of detente and peaceful coexistence in Europe; it is opposed to a nuclear arms race and for a partnership in the area of security between the East and the West" (PRAVDA, 13 March 1984). Quite a bit of activity has been also developed along these lines by the Social Democratic parties of Northern Europe, especially Finland, whose government, under the leadership of the Social Democrats has consistently expanded good-neighborly, mutually advantageous relations with the Soviet Union.

However, even at the present-day stage of the struggle to return to detente in the foreign policy views and positions of the Social Democrats and Socialists there are still contradictions, ambiguities, and inconsistencies. With regard to the key questions of international relations, the accents in their positions have often shifted in the direction of the invented concept of the "two superpowers." The resolutions of the 16th Congress of the Socialist International mention the equal responsibility of the United States and the USSR for exacerbating international tension, but they ignore the diametrically opposite nature of their foreign-policy courses.

While speaking out, in principle, against war, certain Social Democratic leaders at the same time not only do not condemn the preparations for it but, in a number of cases, render indirect and even direct support for the foreign policy of the United States and the forces of militarism. This pertains particularly to the socialists of a number of countries in Southern Europe, to the policies of governments headed up by Socialists, in particular, Italy, Portugal, and France. As acknowledged by the American journalist J. Darnton, the coming to power of the Socialists during the past two and a half years in the countries of Southern Europe at first caused alarm in the U.S. administration, which feared the "leftward movement" of these countries and even their quitting NATO. But their fears proved to be in vain. "...This remarkable change," writes Darnton in the NEW YORK TIMES, "...in no way altered the pro-American orientation of this half of the continent and did not create a threat for the military interests of the United States in the Mediterranean." In the foreign policy of these countries, he asserts, there has not occurred any "radical leaning to the left"; moreover, with regard to such important problems as the question of the deployment of new missiles the positions of Southern Europe's Socialists "are at times less diffuse and indeterminate as those of the centrist or right-wing leaders whom they replaced.... With an unwavering determination they have continued to adhere to the 'Atlantic' orientation and have advocated close cooperation with Washington" (as quoted in ZA RUBEZHOM, No 4, 1984, p 14).

Even at the congress of Austrian Socialists, which was held in October 1983, there were resounding voices of "gratitude to the United States" for "rescuing democracy" in the European countries during the "cold war" years from the alleged "Soviet threat," while the aggression committed against Grenada was criticized from a position of "friends of democracy" (ARBEITER-ZEITUNG, 29 October 1983).



Nor can we fail to note that the Social Democratic leaders, as before, are trying to link the solution of the international problems of the present day with the implementation of their own ideal of "democratic socialism," with the activity primarily of the Social Democracy and of the governments headed by it. This has been emphasized anew in the manifesto of the Socialist International's 16th Congress. This document asserts that neither capitalism nor communism are capable of exercising control over the social development which is occurring: neither social system is supposedly capable of handling the "economic shocks, the internal tensions," whereas "democratic socialism," the manifesto declares, "is not an empty dream about an impossible future; its predestination consists of being a third force, an alternative to capitalism and communism." Emphasized here at the same time is the open solidarity of the Social Democracy "with all the democratic movements in Eastern Europe in the struggle for basic rights, including trade-union rights, freedom of religion, and protection of the rights of the national minorities" (DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, 1983, Vol 5, p 436).

While criticizing such negative factors which weaken the present-day anti-war movement, Communists do support everything positive in the sphere of foreign policy in the Social Democratic movement. Our party, as stated in the message of the CPSU Central Committee to the 16th Congress of the Socialist International, calls upon "Socialists and Social Democrats--as well as the labor and democratic movements linked with them--to increase their contributions to the cause of saving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe, to raise the activity level of the popular masses and their organizations in the struggle for peace and detente, to intensify the practical effectiveness of their own demonstrations with regard to specific questions of international security and putting an end to the arms race" (PRAVDA, 9 April 1983).

Communists have always advocated unity of action among the detachments of the working class. The international class solidarity of the proletariat is one of the main principles of the Marxist-Leninist strategy of the anti-war movement. The CPSU and the international communist movement have consistently conducted and are conducting a line aimed at the multi-faceted expansion of the front of forces fighting for peace, against the threat of war, for unity of actions among Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, and all advocates of peace. As noted by the candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, B. N. Ponomarev, in his speech at the Socialist International Conference of 1978, "there are ideological differences between the Communists and the Social Democrats. But life demands the attainment of an agreement in solving the most burning problem of the present day, in which all mankind is concerned--the avoidance of a new world war and putting a stop to the growth of weapons.... Life itself insistently dictates the need for cooperation between the Communist and Social Democratic parties on the questions of political and military detente. Precisely cooperation! Nowadays sporadic contacts are obviously not enough. What is required is stable, consistent, reciprocal action" (KOMMUNIST, No 7, 1978, p 49). In the Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress the following point is underscored: "...we will actively support all steps useful for the cause of peace and democracy. Under the conditions of the present-day complication of the international situation, cooperation with the Social Democrats, trade unions, religious groups, and with all democratic, peace-loving forces on the

questions of averting war, strengthening peace seems to us important" ("Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], p 19). In his reply to the appeal by the leaders of the Socialist International K. U. Chernenko pointed out the following: "In the struggle to reduce the danger of war, to strengthen peace, the Soviet Union is prepared to engage in broad and active cooperation with all states, with all peace-loving forces. This also fully applies to the parties which are members of the Socialist International" (PRAVDA, 5 April 1984).

In the struggle for peace Communists advocate cooperation with the Social Democracy at all levels--from the primary organizations to the central organs, in all forms--parliamentary and non-parliamentary, on a national and international scale. Together with the Social Democrats and Socialists, they take part in anti-war actions within their own countries, in various international public demonstrations for peace and detente. No matter how great the ideological divergences between the Communists and the Social Democrats, the Communists do not consider these differences to be an obstacle for mutual aid. They have no sort of prejudice which would hinder them from seeing, acknowledging, and supporting the positive steps of the Social Democracy, directed at solving the problems of disarmament and preserving detente. They have applied and will apply all efforts to achieve a unity of actions among all detachments of the labor movement in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress. Activation of the Social Democrats and Socialists along these lines would have great importance for the fate of mankind.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: B. N. Ponomarev, "Confronted with an Historical Choice," KOMMUNIST, No 17, 1976; B. N. Ponomarev, "For Cooperation in the Struggle against the Arms Race and for Disarmament," KOMMUNIST, No 7, 1978; D. Dimitrov, "Sotsialisticheskoyat internatsional i yevropeyskaya sigurnost" [The Socialist International and European Security], Sofia, 1975; "Die Sozialistische International: Ihre Geschichte und Politik", Berlin, 1977; G. S. Sogomonyan, "Strengthening Peace and the Social Democracy," KOMMUNIST, No 5, 1979; Ya. Golembevski, "Sotsial-demokratiya v usloviyakh obostreniya obshchego krizisa kapitalizma" [The Social Democracy under the Conditions of the Exacerbation of the General Crisis of Capitalism], Moscow, 1980; N. G. Sibilev, "Sotsialisticheskoy internatsional: Istoriya. Ideologiya. Politika" [The Socialist International: History, Ideology, Politics], Moscow, 1980; V. Shveytser, "Communists and Socialists in the Struggle for Peace," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 9, 1981; "Mezhdunarodnoye rabochee dvizheniye: Voprosy istorii i teorii" [The International Labor Movement: Problems of History and Theory], Moscow, 1983, Vol 6, Chapter 13; "Key Problems of the Present Day and the Social Democracy," RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYIY MIR, No 5, 1983; S. S. Salychev, "Sotsial-demokratiya v sovremennom mire" [The Social Democracy and the Present-Day World], Moscow, 1982.

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2384

CSO: 1807/251

## INTERNATIONAL

### MOSCOW PERSIAN WORRIES OVER GROWING IRANIAN-WESTERN CONTACTS

NC280754 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1600 GMT 27 Jul 84

[Commentary by Igor Sheftunov]

[Excerpts] Last week UPI published an interview with former Empress Farah Diba, who met with reporters at one of her villas in Massachusetts. In this interview, Farah Diba requested that the monarchy be revived in Iran, and alleged that the Iranian population thirsts for and is eager to see the return of the Pahlavi dynasty.

The conclusion one draws is that by the Iranian population Farah Diba meant the 1,000 families that ruled Iran with the Pahlavi dynasty for half a century.

However, more eager than the 1,000 families to see their plundering positions revived in Iran are the imperialist companies and, first and foremost, the U.S. companies. They remember well their golden ear when the Pahlavi dynasty relied first on the British, then on the German, and lastly on the U.S. bayonets and served imperialism devotedly.

Now, while increasing their military forces in the Persian Gulf and near Iran's coasts, and while inflicting military pressure on Iran, the U.S. Administration and its allies are also taking so-called peaceful steps concerning Iran. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher visited Iran last week. This trip was discussed last year during the conference held by foreign ministers of seven large imperialist countries who met in the United States to form a common policy on Iran. The conference participants pointed out that the opportunity had arisen for the Western governments to impose their diktat on Iran and to revive the rule of imperialist companies and their Iranian associates in Iran.

Iran's weakening as a result of the war with Iraq, the persecution of active members of the Tudeh Party and of other forces that fought against the shah's despotism and imperialism, and the Iranian rule's evasion of implementing progressive reforms to benefit the workers are all especially helpful to imperialist objectives.

As stated at the time [of the conference] by THE WASHINGTON POST: Real opportunities to elevate relations between Western governments and Iran to a high level, similar to what existed before the revolution--that is, during the Pahlavi rule--do exist. Genscher tried his best to carry out this mission during his visit to Iran. Commenting on this, the FRG newspaper DIE WELT wrote that Genscher did his best to direct Iran toward a so-called open door policy. Implementing this policy will give the imperialist countries the opportunity to operate overtly in Iran.

Meanwhile, the dimensions of expansionism in the Western governments' foreign trade have aroused concern in Iran; and FRG companies play an outstanding role in the implementation of this expansionism. It was therefore not accidental that during their talks with Genscher, the Iranian representatives pointed out the need to lessen the great deficit in Iran's trade with West Germany. Genscher's arbitrary reply was that it is impossible to overcome this deficit in the near future.

The bourgeois press stresses that Genscher's trip is the first high-level visit by one of the participants in last year's conference held in the United States by foreign ministers of seven major imperialist countries. After him, representatives of similar rank from among the other participants in the conference will prepare to visit Iran. All of them base their calculations on the fact that the negative trends that have aggravated Iran's situation will continue, and that these trends will weaken the country to such an extent that imperialist companies--with the help of their Iranian associates--will be able to attain their goals in Iran through various means.

CSO: 4640/352

## INTERNATIONAL

### SOVIET SUPPLYING OF CHEMICAL ARMS TO IRAQ DENIED

NC260813 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1700 GMT 24 Jul 84

[Excerpts] A few days ago Professor (Hendrik) of Belgium's (?Ghent) University said in a speech at one of the Belgian universities that in his opinion the poisonous chemicals used in the Iran-Iraq war are similar to those used in Kampuchea, Laos, and Afghanistan. Our commentator writes in this connection:

Of course these remarks by the Belgian professor might have been completely ignored by everyone, especially since this time he [words indistinct] (?very decisive assessments and conclusions). Apparently in the few months that have passed since his first remarks, indubitable facts have made him revise his views to a certain extent and to abandon his baseless allegations on the use by socialist countries of chemical weapons in the Iran-Iraq war. But it also should be said that (Hendrik's) efforts to create a parallelism in the use of chemical weapons in Kampuchea, Laos, and Afghanistan--which only his eyes can see--brings to mind an article published 6 months ago in the Belgian newspaper LANTERNE. On the basis of (Hendrik's) remarks, this article concluded that during the Iran-Iraq war Iraq uses chemical weapons allegedly given to it by East European countries.

At that time the inspirers of such false rumors were disgraced in front of everyone with obvious and clear facts. On the one hand it became clear that these lies--which can only be called information for lack of a better word--were published by some press organs based on a report sent by the Pentagon and the CIA to all NATO members. On the other hand, competent international committees, UN experts, and the most distinguished scientists from both socialist and Western countries not only decisively rejected the fabrications on the socialist countries' use of chemical weapons but also--more important yet--condemned the CIA for its efforts to forge documents on the use of chemical weapons in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan. Thus, it appeared that the matter had been clarified, because documents prepared by experts can neither be denied nor rejected.

Now, (Hendrik) is once again trying to instil new life into a dead topic which the Western propaganda machinery has repeated thousands of times. Doesn't he know who actually used chemical weapons to a level unprecedented in the history of mankind in Kampuchea, Laos, and Vietnam?

The objectives of this professor's recent remarks are very clear. The reason is that on the same day he was explaining his views on all these topics, a Belgian economic delegation consisting of (?an unprecedented number of members representing 26) Belgian private enterprises and banks arrived in Tehran. During their stay in Tehran, they discussed various problems on the rapid expansion and consolidation of bilateral economic relations and the signing of new agreements with Iranian officials. Thus, we see that the professor's speech was extremely opportune for the representatives of the Belgian enterprises and banks which are interested in the conclusion of new profitable agreements with Iran and that the timing of these two events was not accidental.

It is highly possible that on the basis of calculations by Professor (Hendrik's) behind-the-scene inspirers from among Belgian economic circles, such scientific speeches by the professor will (?darken) Iran's relations with socialist countries. This, in turn, in their opinion should facilitate the holding of talks for the signing of new profitable agreements with Iran for the Belgian industrialists and bankers.

The conclusion we reach is that Professor (Hendrik), whose shoulders stoop with the heavy burden of scientific titles and ranks, and the Belgian entrepreneurs base their relations with Iran on the famous Iranian adage that "you dance and we pay." Yes, the Belgian professor has volunteered the inauspicious role of middleman for the Belgian companies, and he is resorting to unsuitable means to reach this end.

CSO: 4640/352

## INTERNATIONAL

### BRIEFS

INDIAN MUSLIMS IN UZBEKISTAN--A delegation of Indian Muslims, headed by Dr Said Asrarul Haq, president of the committee of national unity and a member of parliament, has arrived in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The guests from India will visit, besides Moscow, Leningrad, Baku, Tashkent and other cities in Uzbekistan. [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Jul 84 p 2]

FRENCH CP OFFICIAL IN TASHKENT--(UZTAG) Roland Leroi, French Communist Party Politburo member and L'HUMANITE political director, is acquainting himself with the life of Uzbekistan. On 10 July Roland Leroi was received by R. Kh. Abdullayeva, Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee secretary. [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 11 Jul 84 p 1]

INDIAN COMMUNISTS IN UZBEKISTAN--(UZTAG) A group of Indian Communist Party [CPI] members, headed by Choudhuri, party national council member and first secretary of the Orissa state CPI organization, has visited Uzbekistan. The CPI members were received in the Tashkent Obkom. [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 7 Jul 84 p 1]

CSO: 1807/278

NATIONAL

#### IMPORTANCE OF PLENUMS, COMMISSIONS IN PARTY WORK STRESSED

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 8, Apr 84 (signed to press 11 Apr 84) pp 27-32

[Editorial in the magazine's "Party Construction" section: "Member of the Party Committee"]

[Text] The present-day life and work of the party committees and primary party organizations is filled with great concerns and plans. They are concentrating their efforts on carrying out the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, and on implementing the Food and Energy programs and fulfilling the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The latest report and election campaign has given them a charge of creative energy. The collective discussion and interpretation of accumulated experience that took place during the reports and elections, along with the principled criticism, reproofs and proposals that Communists expressed at this time concerning a wide range of issues in party work are being utilized by the party organizations and their newly elected governing bodies to further activate intraparty life and intensify its mobilizing and organizing influence among the masses, and to improve the style and methods of party leadership in all sectors of constructive work.

As noted in the CPSU Central Committee's recent resolution on this matter, an important result of the report and election campaign was a substantial renewal of the membership of elective party bodies and their replenishment with fresh forces. Prestigious, politically tempered and enterprising Communists were elected to the buros and committees of primary party organizations and to rayon, city, okrug, oblast and kray party committees. The membership of party committees now includes more workers and women, and the composition of party organizations is now more representative with respect to nationality. People have been advanced to executive positions who are capable of unifying the elective aktiv and all Communists and creating a genuinely businesslike atmosphere of mutual comradesly exactingness in every party committee.

The party places high demands on party officials. They should be distinguished by profound ideological conviction, genuine knowledge of their assigned jobs, organizational abilities, extensive culture, and the ability to think



in large terms, sense what is new and recognize it in practice. These party requirements apply fully not just to the executive officials of elective bodies--the secretaries and bureau members of party committees--but to all Communists elected to their membership. The members of elective governing bodies are the authorized representatives of the party masses. They bear full responsibility for all of a committee's work and for the state of affairs at their enterprise or in their rayon, city, okrug, oblast or kray. "Any elective post in our party," said Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the CPSU Central Committee's February (1984) plenum, "is a responsible post. Election to a party committee must be regarded as a kind of credit of trust issued by party members to their comrades. And this trust should be justified by selfless work."

At the 26th Party Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, concrete instructions were given concerning the party bodies' work. Their organizational and political activity should be directed toward the steady and stable improvement of our economy, its shift to an intensive path of development, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the more rational utilization of the country's production potential. Ideological work must be built on a deep theoretical foundation and closely linked with the accomplishment of specific production and upbringing tasks. In intra-party life, the governing party bodies should invariably follow the line of further raising the militancy of primary organizations, developing the activeness of party masses, ensuring public openness in party life, and resolutely eliminating formalism, the substitution of useless meetings for real work, and bureaucratic red tape from party practice.

The only way all these tasks can be successfully accomplished is through the elective aktiv's constant and interested participation in the common task. The elective aktiv is the most active part of our party and the most experienced in party affairs. At the present time there are more than 5 million Communists serving on governing party bodies at all levels. In many respects they are the spokesmen for party public opinion and embody the principle of collectiveness in party leadership. The authority of party decisions consists in the fact that they are taken collectively. And the effectiveness of these decisions depends directly on the party masses' participation in their implementation. Party leadership at the enterprise or in the rayon, city or oblast cannot be effective if it is based only on the efforts of a small circle of people, even though it be a highly active circle, without solid reliance on collective experience and the broad support of the aktiv. Strengthening the collective quality of party leadership means doing the utmost to develop the activeness of the members of elective party bodies and increase their responsibility for implementing the party's directives and carrying out its decisions in all spheres of public life--economic, political and spiritual.

The member of a governing party body influences those around him primarily through personal example and his attitude toward production and public affairs. These two aspects of his life, the production and the public, cannot be divorced. In production he sets an example of a solicitous, creative attitude toward the job at his work place. The party activist is always oriented toward the highest horizons and acts as a leader in the campaign to fulfill

national economic plans and as an organizer of mass socialist competition. At the present time a campaign has been launched in all labor collectives for the above-plan raising of labor productivity by 1 percent and the additional reduction of the prime cost of output by 0.5 percent. The duty of every member of an elective party body is to himself fight for fulfillment of the intensive but fully substantiated commitments his collective has made and to help others in doing so. Where difficulties are encountered and our plans are threatened is precisely the party activist's place, the place where he is expected to help in word and deed. He is called upon through personal initiative to orient all working people toward the frugal use of raw materials, other materials and electric power, and to show concern for the introduction of real economic accountability and new collective forms of organizing labor. It is impossible to imagine the party activist without such qualities as a constant striving for a profound comprehension of economic problems and daily concern for the state of affairs in his production sector.

The Communist who has been elected to a governing party body is a public figure. His public temperament should manifest itself in various spheres of our life; everything is a matter for his concern. Indifference toward the large and complex problems of the present day, and passive behavior in his collective detract from his prestige among his fellow workers and cast doubts on the trust that has been placed in him. Of course, the fruitful work of the members of elective bodies depends not just on their subjective desire but on the sort of practices that have been established in a given party committee, the methods by which it operates and the way work is distributed in it between the elective aktiv and the party apparatus. The duty of the executives of party committees is to do everything they can to promote a situation in which all members of the committee take part in the discussion and resolution of questions, develop an increasingly strong sense of participation in common affairs, and show boldness and independence in raising new problems. It is bad if observations, critical remarks and recommendations by the members of party committees are made in vain; they should serve as guidelines for the work of the apparatus and help to improve party leadership. The task is for every party agency to rely firmly on the elective aktiv and to utilize this great sociopolitical force to the utmost.

The very first duty of the newly elected governing party bodies and of the entire elective aktiv is to ensure the consistent and undeviating implementation of the orders given to them by the participants in report and election meetings and conferences. Questions of improving the style and methods of party work were discussed with great interest at the meetings and conferences. It was noted that lately a more businesslike approach and greater organization and initiative have been manifesting themselves in the party committees' work. They have been devoting a great deal of time and effort to active work with people directly in labor collectives. However, as was pointed out in no uncertain terms at the meetings and conferences, a fundamental improvement has still not occurred in the work style of many party organizations. Often party committees, acting out of inertia, abuse the practice of adopting numerous resolutions and holding an unjustifiably large number of conferences and meetings, exercise lax oversight over the actual implementation of

decisions, and frequently do things that should be done by soviet and economic-management agencies.

The elimination of these shortcomings is a matter that brooks no delay. The party and its Central Committee call upon and urge all party organizations and their elective bodies to take a demanding approach in checking out their arsenal of means, forms and methods of providing guidance for communist construction and to constantly improve them in accordance with the new, large-scale tasks. This approach to matters contains the essence of the Leninist style of party leadership--a creative style that combines fidelity to established militant traditions with genuinely revolutionary innovativeness.

There are many organizational forms in which the practical work of the members of elective bodies may express itself. First place should be given to plenums of party committees. The importance of plenums in the work of party organizations has increased significantly lately. They serve as an extremely effective means of mobilizing the masses of Communists and nonparty people to fulfill the party's directives and instructions. They have a great role to play in the further development of intraparty democracy, strengthening of party discipline and observance of the Leninist norms of party life.

The plenums' work cannot be truly fruitful if the members of a governing party body come to a plenum only to sit through the appointed hours and listen to previously designated speakers. This practice has been resolutely condemned. The indisputable truth is that the more actively the members and candidate members of a party committee take part in the preparations for and work of plenums, the more noticeable the results will be in that committee's work. Businesslike plenums in which participants take an active role can be achieved by various means, including well considered agendas. And this is achieved when the committee executives strive to give consideration to the views, proposals and wishes of the committee members themselves in choosing issues for discussion. In some party committees the following procedure has been established: at the end of each regular plenum it is announced what is slated to be considered at the next plenum, and the approximate date on which this plenum will be held is indicated. In advance, the party committee creates commissions or groups from among its membership to investigate the state of affairs in certain sectors and to study certain elements of the problem that is supposed to be discussed. The committee members are familiarized with all materials that pertain to a given issue and should be considered in preparing a draft decree. In many party committees, reports, draft decisions and other materials are duplicated in order to acquaint committee members in advance with the essence of issues that are up for discussion. Some party committees have started to publish the agendas of upcoming plenums in the local press well in advance of the dates when they are held. This method makes it possible to create at the plenums themselves an atmosphere of in-depth analysis of a problem for which a solution must be worked out and prompts plenum participants to personally take part in implementing the measures that are set forth.

The plenum's work, like everything connected with preparations for them and the implementation of decisions taken at them, should be persistently deepened and enriched. In its decree on the results of the report and election campaign, the CPSU Central Committee emphasized: "It is necessary to continue to improve the work of the plenums, buros and secretariats of party committees, and the practice of holding meetings of communists, while avoiding over-organization in doing so, and to consistently observe the principle of collectiveness in combination with officials' personal responsibility for the performance of their duties."

In addition to plenums, there are other forms of drawing the members of elective bodies into active party work. Many members of elective bodies find application for their efforts and knowledge in the standing and temporary commissions that are set up in accordance with the CPSU Statutes and that study problems facing their party organizations. The commissions work out proposals and recommendations on various issues in party work, including issues submitted to plenums.

In today's conditions, the participation of elective bodies' members in organizing oversight to ensure the implementation of decisions that have been taken assumes special importance. There is no need to prove that the effectiveness of party work is directly linked to this aspect of the matter. At the present time, local party bodies are doing a great deal to improve the verification of implementation. Nonetheless, as noted at the party meetings and conferences, the verification of implementation continues to be a bottleneck in the work of a substantial number of party organizations. In some committees only secretaries, buro members and apparatus employees engage in oversight and verification of implementation, while party activists, to all intents and purposes, are removed from this job. This shows a lack of faith in the powers and capabilities of the members of elective bodies, a lack of faith which is absolutely unwarranted. Party activists are strong by virtue of their ties with the masses and their ability to listen to their voice. And they can and should do everything possible to see to it that oversight and verification of implementation are carried out systematically and efficiently.

The CPSU is flesh of the people's flesh. At every historical stage it has honorably lived up to its great role as leader of the working masses. Our people wholly and fully supports the Leninist party and firmly follows the path it has laid out. As it did formerly, the party continues today to give a great deal of attention to expanding its ties with the masses, seeing in them an important condition for further improving the effectiveness of party work. And an essential role in this connection belongs to the members of elective party bodies. They need to constantly turn to the wellsprings of popular initiative and to those whose selfless labor creates material and spiritual values and strengthens the homeland's might. By deepening their ties with the masses, they also make their own party committees close to them. A high level of political and labor activeness on the part of the members of elective bodies serves to strengthen the party influence in labor collectives and positively affects the fulfillment of production plans and growth in labor productivity.

The party activists' ties with the broad masses of working people are not just one of their strong sides; they are precisely where the greatest moral and political reserve of every party organization and every governing party body is to be found. This is precisely the way in which party leadership is enriched with new conclusions and new ideas and plans.

Communists grow and become tempered as party political fighters and leaders of the masses first and foremost in practical deeds and the daily performance of party duties. This pertains fully to the members of party committees. The duty of the members of governing party bodies at any level is to carry out work among the masses, including work in the primary organizations where they are registered. The election of a Communist to a higher body does not relieve him of the duty to take an active part in the work of his own organization. In his primary organization a member of a higher party body is the most active Communist, the adviser and closest assistant of the party organization's secretary. He helps the Communists in his party collective to link the resolution of issues in local life with partywide, statewide tasks. As a representative of a higher governing body, he, naturally, not only has duties stemming from this position but is also endowed with certain rights. He has the right to attend sessions of that organization's party committee and party meetings and buro sessions in shops, departments and shifts. Communists and nonparty people may appeal to him, as a representative of a higher party body, for advice and help. And, of course, he should be on good terms with the executives of his enterprise, collective farm, state farm or institution.

It is germane here to call attention to the following point: frequently at meetings in primary party organizations, reports on the results of conferences, plenums and aktiv meetings are given by comrades who are not members of the party committee in question, while for some reason the members of these committees take no part in these activities.

Party committees may and should assign their members to check up on the state of affairs in other primary party organizations, as well as their own, and to help them in setting up their organizational and mass political work, holding meetings and following up on letters and complaints that the party body receives from working people. It is not superfluous to note that committee members' visits to various primary organizations enables them to have a better knowledge of the state of affairs at the local level, to make comparisons and generalizations and draw conclusions, and to engage in a practical sense in the dissemination of good experience and elimination of shortcomings. Committee members who take part in checkups, visit various primary party organizations and labor collectives and study the situation at the local level gain a great deal. Their horizons are widened, and they resolve issues with greater knowledge of affairs. They carry their experience, observations, thoughts and proposals to their committee.

Raising the militancy of primary and shop party organizations and party groups and strengthening their role in their collectives are one of the most important tasks of intraparty life. Efforts must be made to improve the leadership of those party organizations that still lack sufficient initiative and principle, and to see to it that they act more vigorously and take

uncompromising positions with respect to persons who violate party and state discipline, are guilty of localism, departmentalism, bureaucratism and red tape, and abuse their offices. Party committees should give special attention to the party organizations' skillful use of their right to monitor the activities of management and the work of the apparatus. Members of elective party bodies have a prominent role to play in all these matters.

The purposefulness and selflessness of the members of elective party bodies and their efforts to set the tone and set a personal example in their work are the key to the successful accomplishment of many tasks. They are called on to give all their efforts and knowledge to the party's cause.

Regular and special reports by party committee members to Communists are a highly effective means of enhancing their accountability for their work. In many cases such reports are made not just by a committee's executives but by most of its members. Proposals and critical remarks by Communists compel them to take themselves in hand and show greater initiative and independence.

There are also other means of enhancing the accountability of the members of elective party bodies. At the latest report and election meetings and conferences, Communists noted that it is insufficient just to list the names of those who have been elected to party raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms in the local press. It would be useful, they said, for the sake of better acquainting the broad party masses with the membership of governing party bodies, to identify the organizations from which newly elected members have come. It would not be a bad idea if, following the conferences and plenums, the secretaries of party organizations would announce to Communists who from their own party organization or neighboring party organizations have become committee members and who have been elected as members of its buro. Publicity in these matters will only enhance the role and capacity of those who have received the party masses' trust.

The party adheres to the line of extensively including Communist production workers, the best representatives of the working class and collective-farm peasantry, in the membership of governing party bodies. It is clear to everyone that the rank-in-file worker or collective farmer cannot visit the party raykom or gorkom frequently to obtain specific assignments and share his ideas there. The party committee executives should take this into account and find ways to hold regular meetings with such Communists and draw them into active participation in the carrying out of organizational and upbringing activities. Increased attention and special sensitivity must be shown toward their critical remarks and proposals.

There are a good many neophytes among those who have been elected to party bodies. They need to be treated more attentively by experienced party executives and to be given businesslike assistance that will permit them to find their places in the overall structure and show initiative as soon as possible. This is what is being done in many party committees, rearing new activists and creating a new, full-fledged cadre reserve.

Not so long ago G. I. Voytenko, a farm machinery operator on the Zarya Kommunizma Collective Farm (Kiev Oblast) was known only to her native village, but now she is known to Communists and all other residents of Vasilkovskiy Rayon. At the latest party conference she was put forward as a member of the party gorkom, and at the organizational plenum, Galina Ivanovna was elected a member of the buro. How many pressing concerns she acquired! G. I. Voytenko takes part in activities conducted both on the rayon level and in her own collective farm's party organization. Together with other executives of the party raykom, she takes part in working out the basic guidelines for the economic development of the city and rayon. Here is what M. N. Burnyshev, gorkom first secretary, says about the new committee member's work:

"The Communists did not err in their choice. Galina Ivanovna immediately got involved in the work and takes a serious attitude toward it. And she receives constant assistance from the buro members and gorkom secretaries. When visiting the Zarya Kommunizma Collective Farm, we always find time to meet with G. I. Voytenko and consult with her. And this benefits both her and the gorkom as a whole."

Many such examples, in which yesterday's rank-and-file Communists, people directly employed in production, grow into capable organizers and true leaders of the masses, could be cited. In the very same Vasilkov Party Gorkom, where Communists from all the key production sectors are represented, there are comrades with lengthy party service and there are also comparatively young party members. And they are all involved in affairs and do extensive work both on assignment by the gorkom buro and at their own initiative.

At the present time, in many party committees studies in the theory and practice of party organizational and ideological work have been set up for Communists who are newly elected to their membership. And this merits all-out support. The organization of studies in courses and seminars and at party educational institutions permits party activists to master the forms and methods of political work in greater depth. When the members of a party committee know that their affairs and concerns are at the center of general attention, their own desire to better perform their duties also increases.

Our party has entered a period of direct preparation for its 27th congress. The course it is following finds unanimous support among the Soviet people and is evoking a powerful political and labor upsurge. The country has now reached frontiers that not so long ago were sketched out to us as attainable only in the remote future. But we can move forward even faster. Unquestionably, raising the level of the leadership work of elective party bodies at all levels is a matter of great importance. To a considerable extent, whether high results are achieved in party work will be determined by the way all Communists elected to these bodies tackle their jobs, the burdens that they assume and the contribution each of them makes to the common task. Being a member of the leadership nucleus--whether it be a primary, rayon, city or

oblast party organization--means working to unify party ranks and to see to it that all Communists follow Lenin's behest as though they were a single individual.

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NATIONAL

# BUREAUCRATISM IN SELECTION OF PARTY CANDIDATES CRITICIZED

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 8, Apr 84 (signed to press 11 Apr 84) p 44

[Article by V. Vasilyev: "Bureaucratic Exercise"]

[Text] The editors of the magazine PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' received a letter from N. D. Obaraz, senior engineer and secretary of the party organization of a department of the Vladimir Tochmash [Precision Machinery] Production Association. He reported that on 1 March the secretary of the association's party committee handed him four report forms that had to be filled out and presented to the party committee by 1 April.

The report forms themselves were enclosed with the letter. Report form No. 1 requires that the secretary of the shop party organization specify "the membership of the shop organization's party buro that is recommended for election at the party report and election meeting in 1984." It is necessary not just to fill in certain information for every member of the future party buro but also to indicate how duties are to be distributed among them in the buro.

The remaining three report forms request approximately the same information on other party activists "who are recommended for election in 1984." Altogether, more than 100 questions must be answered.

The editors reached V. A. Finogenov, secretary of the Tochmash Production Association's party committee, by telephone and asked him to explain the advisability of filling out such reports.

"I don't see any advisability in the reports," he said. "The Frunzenskiy Party Raykom sends us these report forms every year and we, in turn, duplicate them and distribute them to the secretaries of the shop and department party organizations."

We also talked with S. I. Volkov, chief of the organization department of the Frunzenskiy Party Raykom.

"I understand," he said, "that there is no need whatsoever to fill out such cumbersome report forms. But we are forced to do it. In May we are supposed to present them to the party gorkom."

We telephoned V. I. Filimonov, chief of the organization department of the Vladimir Party Gorkom. "It's true," he confirmed. "The party gorkom asks the raykoms for information pertaining to the proposed qualitative makeup of the new elective aktiv."

And so, there are still seven months before the report and election meetings, and officials of the Vladimir Gorkom and the party raykoms and enterprise party committees are furiously engaged in drawing up lists of the members of the future party buros. Moreover, the report forms "are signed by the secretary of the party organizations and the subdivision's economic executive." This last requirement is especially difficult to comprehend. One wonders what the economic executive has to do with the formation of party bodies.

The method that is being used to form party bodies is wrongful. It is tantamount to a flagrant violation of intraparty democracy, since it infringes on Communists' legitimate right to elect those whom they see fit at report and election meetings. Report and election meetings are where party members determine the membership of party buros and committees.

The whole exercise with the reports is nothing but a manifestation of absolute bureaucratism. After we talked with the Vladimir Party Obkom, it did away with this paper merry-go-round. The obkom, of course, acted correctly. However, something else is disturbing: Everyone with whom we spoke ardently condemned the bureaucratic exercise, yet no one had done anything before that to oppose it.

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#### LENIN'S WORK ON SECOND PARTY PROGRAM EXAMINED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 4, Apr 84 (signed to press 3 Apr 84)  
pp 18-33

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences R. M. Savitskaya: "On the Work of V. I. Lenin on the Second Party Program"]

[Text] Upon the decision of the 26th CPSU Congress, a new wording of the Party Program is being prepared. The materials of the Congress and the July (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee point to the basic areas for reworking the current Program. Its new version will be a program document for the planned and all-round improving of developed socialism and for further advance to communism.<sup>1</sup> To analyze the great and complex tasks of improving developed socialism "in their unity, to set out a clear, long-range strategy for implementing them, to show the relationship of our current affairs with the communist future--this is what we should gain from the new version of the Program," emphasized the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, in a speech at the extraordinary Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on 13 February 1984. "The Central Committee gives enormous significance to its preparation."<sup>2</sup>

The elaboration of program documents by our party has a rich history closely tied to the activities of V. I. Lenin. The first and second programs of our party were created with his direct involvement. The activities of V. I. Lenin in this area have been thoroughly examined in a number of works.<sup>3</sup> The given article, in light of the documents of the 26th Party Congress, the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee as well as considering the materials found in the 12-volume biography of V. I. Lenin, attempts a further investigation of this question.

Even in the work on the First Party Program, the major methodological principles were established and apparent in preparing the programs for the truly revolutionary proletarian party, the new type of party. These underwent further developments and enrichment in Lenin's preparation of our party's Second Program which was the program for the construction of socialism in the Soviet nation. The experience of working on this document is particularly timely not only from the viewpoint of our party's interests but also for unmasking the bourgeois falsifiers of the conditions of the intensified ideological struggle at the present stage.

One can clearly note two stages in V. I. Lenin's work on the Second Program: the first from March through October 1917 and the second from October 1917 through March 1919. During the first period all Lenin's proposals to revise the Program were determined by the course of the Bolshevik Party for bringing about a socialist revolution, and in the second, now after the victory of the revolution, by the course of building socialism in our country.

The necessity of revising the Party Program adopted in 1903, as Lenin pointed out, had become apparent long before World War I.<sup>4</sup> However, in practical terms this task was proposed only after the victory of the February Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution of 1917 in Russia. The need for a new Program was dictated by numerous objective factors. Since the start of the 20th Century, capitalism had entered its highest stage of imperialism and this by the start of World War I had greatly heightened all the social contradictions. As a consequence of this, the question of a socialist revolution was put directly on the agenda. The program adopted by the Second RSVRP [Russian Socialial Democratic Workers Party] Congress, particularly its general (theoretical) part, provided a picture of world development since the end of the 19th Century. The Program had to reflect those fundamental changes in the world which had occurred since the second RSVRP Congress, that is, first of all provide a description of imperialism. The victory of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia also necessitated a change in the minimum program planned precisely for the victory of such a revolution. The agrarian part of the program, instead of the Menshevik slogan of municipalization, was now to include the Bolshevik demand of the nationalizing of the land and this, as life was to show, conformed to the interests of the predominant majority of the peasantry.

Lenin completely devoted his "Sketch for the Fifth 'Letter From Afar'," written in Bern at the end of March 1917 prior to his return from the second immigration to Russia, to the question of revising the Party Program.

Returning from emigration, Lenin in his April Theses emphasized the urgency of immediately convening a party congress and pointed out as the most important task the altering of the Party Program and outlined the main areas of work on it:

- "1) On imperialism and imperialist war,
- "2) On the attitude toward the state and our demand of a 'commune state',
- "3) Correcting the antiquated minimum program...."<sup>5</sup>

In light of these proposals by Lenin, lively discussions were held in the party organizations of Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Latvia and other places.<sup>6</sup>

The question of revising the Party Program, as is known, was on the agenda of the Seventh (April) All-Russian RSDRP(b) [Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (Bolshevik)] Conference. Here a section was set up for revising the Program and Lenin took an active part in its work. He presented to the section the "Preliminary Draft of Changes in the RSDRP Party Program" which he had written. In the section there were two views on the question of revising the general (theoretical) part of the Program and these marked the beginning to fundamental

differences of opinion over its content. On the one hand, there was the view of Lenin who felt it necessary to add to the old description of the development of commodity production and capitalism provided in the 1903 Program a description of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism and as the commenced era of a proletarian socialist revolution; on the other hand, there was the view of D. P. Bogolepov, G. I. Oppokov and G. Ya. Sokol'nikov who were in favor of a complete revising of the general part of the Program with the excluding of the development history of commodity production and capitalism from it and for replacing the removed part merely by a description of imperialism and an immediate transition to the age of proletarian revolution.

The section as a whole was in favor of reworking the entire general part of the Program, considering, however, here the concepts set out by Lenin in his preliminary draft as well as those considerations which had been voiced at the section sessions.<sup>7</sup> For revising the general part of the Program, at a meeting of the section a special commission was chosen consisting of three persons (Bogolepov, Oppokov and Sokol'nikov) and this prepared the document "Comments of the Section Organized at the Conference of 24-29 April 1917 on the Question of the General (Theoretical) Part of the Program."

Later in his "Considerations on the Question of the Comments of the Section of the Seventh (April) All-Russian RSDRP(b) Conference," Lenin disagreed with the necessity of revising the entire general part of the Program and the plan outlined by the section for such a revision in the spirit of the ideals of Hilferding, Kautsky and Bukharin on "organized" capitalism and "pure" imperialism were judged by Lenin to be incorrect both historically and theoretically. He explained that the particular features of capitalism described in the general part of the Program had not been fundamentally altered by imperialism.<sup>8</sup>

At the conference V. I. Lenin gave a speech on the question of revising the Party Program on 28 April (11 May) 1917. He defined the areas in which the commission set up by the conference should revise the Program. In the same spirit he had written a draft resolution on this question. The conference instructed the Central Committee, considering the opinion of the section, to draw up a draft Party Program within a period of 2 months for submitting this for approval by the party congress. It also urged all party organizations and party members to discuss the draft programs.<sup>9</sup> In the speech Lenin announced that the resolution of the April Conference would be sent abroad so that the internationalist comrades from other parties could participate in a discussion of the questions related to the elaboration of our party's new Program. The commission proposed adopting Lenin's resolution on revising the Party Program. A majority of the conference delegates voted in favor of this.

After the April Conference, Lenin carried out all the basic work of revising the Party Program. In carrying out the conference decision, the party Publishing House "Priboy" put out a pamphlet "Materialy po peresmotru partiynoy programmy" [Materials on the Revising of the Party Program] prepared by Lenin upon authorization of the Central Committee in May 1917. He was also the editor of the pamphlet and wrote the foreword for it.<sup>10</sup> A plan for the pamphlet drawn up by Lenin has survived.<sup>11</sup> The pamphlet contained a draft complete text for the new Program as well as the old text.

V. I. Lenin gave great importance to involving as many party members as possible in the work of preparing the Party Program. Lenin and the party Central Committee felt that this document should be the fruit of the party's collective thoughts. In the foreword to the pamphlet, upon authority of the Central Committee, Lenin appealed to the party members and sympathizers with a request to republish the pamphlet materials as widely as possible, to inform all comrades of these materials and to send to the editors of PRAVDA (with a note: for the Central Committee) all comments and drafts for the Program.

The "Draft of Changes for the Theoretical, Political and Certain Other Parts of the Program" which was included in the pamphlet differed somewhat from the "Preliminary Draft of Changes in the RSDRP Party Program." This shows that after presenting the preliminary draft to the conference and before its publishing, Lenin continued to work on it, making supplements and clarifications. Thus, in the text of the "Draft of Changes..." he made an extensive insert which reproduced the content of points 1-3 and 8-9 in the resolution of the April Party Conference on the Agrarian Question written by him<sup>12</sup> and which raised the question of the confiscating of landowner lands and turning these lands over to the peasant committees, as well as the nationalization of all lands in the country.

The great importance which Lenin gave to the pamphlet materials can be seen from his letter "To the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee" of 7 (20) August 1917.<sup>13</sup>

The persecutions which beset the Bolshevik Party after the July demonstration impeded the further elaboration of the Party Program.

The question of revising it was on the agenda of the Sixth Party Congress, where it was turned over to a section.<sup>14</sup> After two sessions of the section on 1 August 1917, it was recognized that under the existing conditions there was no opportunity to work out a new text of the Program at the given congress and that it would be advisable to convene a special congress in the near future for these purposes. The Seventh RSDRP Congress approved the economic platform of the Bolshevik Party which was an important point in working out the Second Party Program.<sup>15</sup>

There were plans to discuss the question of the program at the Central Committee Plenum on 3 (16) September 1917, but this was not held. From his Helsingfors hiding place, V. I. Lenin wrote a special letter to the plenum, having emphasized in it the importance of preparing a program which would answer the questions which had arisen with the start of the age of imperialism. Lenin pointed out that by the very fact of adopting a program the Bolshevik Party would accelerate the matter of founding the Third International.<sup>16</sup>

On 5 (18) October 1917, the RSDRP(b) Central Committee set up a commission headed by Lenin to prepare a draft party program for the emergency party congress proposed for 17 (30) October.<sup>17</sup> In line with this, on 6-8 (19-21) October, hiding out in the apartment of M. V. Fofanova in Petrograd, Lenin wrote the article "On Revising the Party Program" and this was published in issue No 1-2 of the journal PROSVESHCHENIYE in October 1917. In it he reviewed the ideas of the authors of a pamphlet published by the Oblast Bureau of the Moscow Industrial Region of the RSDRP(b). The basic place in this pamphlet had been devoted to a

draft prepared by V. Sokol'nokov for a general section of the Program as a counterweight to Lenin's.

V. I. Lenin analyzed this material in detail and provided a thorough criticism of the erroneous ideas contained in it, he disclosed the eclectic nature of its theoretical basis and logical inconsistency and pointed out the presence of many inaccuracies and excesses. Having generally rejected Sokol'nikov's draft, V. I. Lenin at the same time found that this material contained an indication of one of the important aspects for describing imperialism. This was the exploitation in the industrially developed nations of the labor of foreign workers from backward countries.<sup>18</sup> Lenin subsequently made an appropriate insertion in the draft program.

In the aim of more carefully editing the text of the program, Lenin voiced the notion that the party press immediately begin discussing the questions of the wording of one or another demand without putting this off until the congress.<sup>19</sup>

An analysis of the documents from the first stage of Lenin's work on the Party Program (from March through October 1917) indicates that he planned the following areas of its revision: incorporating in the Program an analysis of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism, the threshold of socialist revolution, with the maintaining of the characteristics of commodity production and capitalism; a study of the question concerning the "defense of the fatherland" and the necessity of combating the distorting of Marxism by the so-called defensists who had forgotten the slogan of K. Marx and F. Engels from the "Communist Manifesto": "The Workers Do Not Have a Fatherland"<sup>20</sup>; the supplementing of §9 in the Program by the provision that the right of nations to self-determination also presupposes their right to free separation; the correcting of the Program's paragraphs concerning the state in a spirit of the demand not for a bourgeois parliamentary republic but rather a state of the Paris Commune type (in which there is no police, officials appointed from above and so forth), a democratic proletarian-peasant Republic of Soviets, with the right of the voters to recall deputies; the including of the demand for the nationalizing of a number of the most unionized sectors of production and banks; the adding of a description of the basic currents in the international workers movement and the indicating of the necessity for combating social chauvanism and centrism and the breaking with them.

V. I. Lenin defended these ideas in the struggle against N. Bukharin and other authors of mistaken viewpoints. For example, Bukharin proposed completely eliminating the minimum program as obsolete and replacing it with a program of transitional measures to socialism. This, as Lenin pointed out, would be premature then, before the victory of the socialist revolution.

From mid-October 1917, all the attention of the party and Lenin was concentrated on the immediate preparations of the armed insurrection and its implementation and during the first weeks after victory, on organizing the defense of the revolution. But as soon as Soviet power had been reinforced, V. I. Lenin again raised the question of preparing a new Party Program.

On 13 January (6 February) 1918, a session was held of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee to discuss the agenda of the forthcoming Seventh Party Congress.

Lenin was in favor of incorporating in the congress agenda the question of the Party Program. He emphasized the importance of its careful preparation, having in mind the presence of the enormous number of young party members who had filled out the Bolshevik ranks after the October Socialist Revolution.<sup>21</sup> In the congress agenda approved by the Central Committee, the first point was the question of the Party Program. A commission consisting of Lenin, Bukharin and Sokol'nikov was set up for working out a draft program.<sup>22</sup>

The work of convening the Seventh Congress, as is known, was carried out under extraordinarily difficult conditions. In such a situation the program commission was unable to meet even once prior to the congress and for this reason it did not succeed in working out a final draft program for this congress.<sup>23</sup> Merely the "Rough Sketch of a Draft Program" written by Lenin was distributed to the congress delegates. Lenin proposed basing the program on his own draft published in the pamphlet "Materialy po peresmotru partiynoy programmy," having excluded from its theoretical part only the paragraph that the next task was the preparing of the proletariat to win political power,<sup>24</sup> for power had already been won; in the paragraph on the breaking with social chauvanism, to also mention the breaking with opportunism and also on the exploitation of a number of countries by the richest countries.<sup>25</sup>

Since the international and domestic situation with the victory of October had fundamentally changed, Lenin considered it essential to redo the entire subsequent text of the Program and pointed out in approximately what manner. Here (for the first time in program documents) Lenin described the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power and outlined measures for their development and strengthening. He proposed emphasizing in the Program that the revolution of 25 October (7 November) 1917 had established in Russia a dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the poorest peasantry. This dictatorship posed the following task for the Communist Party in Russia: to complete the already commenced expropriation of the landowners and bourgeoisie and the turning over of all means of production and circulation as property of the Soviet republic; to utilize the alliance of the workers and the poorest peasants for a gradual but constant changeover to the common working of land and to large-scale socialist farming; to strengthen and further develop the federative republic of the Soviets as an immeasurably higher form of democracy than bourgeois parliamentarianism and as a type of state corresponding to the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, that is, to the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat; to use the torch of socialist revolution ignited in Russia in order to paralyze the attempts of the imperialist states to intervene into the affairs of Russia and join forces for a war against the Soviet republic.

In the "Rough Sketch of a Draft Program" V. I. Lenin formulated the "Ten Theses on Soviet Power." In the political part of the sketch he referred to those six points on the advantages of the soviets in comparison with a bourgeois parliamentary republic and which had been defined by him in the article "Will the Bolsheviks Keep State Power?" in October 1917, on the eve of the victory of the socialist revolution, having supplemented them with new ideas.

In the economic area, the main task, according to Lenin, was to organize production and distribution on a statewide scale, and institute a state monopoly of trade and then replace it with planned distribution; the compulsory uniting of



the entire population into consumer-producer communes and carrying out through them all transactions related to buying and selling; an immediate beginning to the complete introduction of universal labor service; the full concentration of banking in the state's hands and all monetary and commodity circulation in the banks; universalizing accounting and control, initially by the workers and then literally by the entire population, over all production and distribution of products; organizing a competition in the aim of increasing organization, discipline, labor productivity, as well as for converting to higher technology, the saving of labor and products and so forth.<sup>26</sup> The economic measures set down by Lenin in the rough sketch were established in detail by him in the work "The Next Tasks of Soviet Power."

On 8 March 1918, V. I. Lenin at the Seventh RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Congress gave the "Report on the Revising of the Program and Changing the Party's Name." He stated that the differences of opinion over the content of the Program's theoretical part had not yet been overcome. Moreover, after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution they had even grown somewhat more acute. The root of the differences went back to a fundamentally different understanding of the essence of imperialism and the socialist revolution. Bukharin considered imperialism not a stage in the development of capitalism but rather a separate (along with capitalism) socioeconomic formation whereby only proletarian revolutions in a "pure" form would be possible and that the proletariat alone would be the driving force of these revolutions.

V. I. Lenin sharply criticized Bukharin's erroneous position on the theoretical part of the Program. At the Seventh Congress he set out the arguments in favor of maintaining in the Program's general part a description of commodity production and capitalism as a theoretically correct construction for this part of the Program. It is essential, Lenin pointed out, to see the overall world-historical prospect, the unifying force linking the entire development of capitalism and the entire road to socialism, its beginning, continuation and end. In order to better determine the prospects of socialist construction, it was essential to look back and analyze from what the socialist revolution arose. It arose from imperialism as the last stage of capitalism which had arisen, in turn, from simple commodity production. The age of the downfall of capitalism and the transition to socialism was merely started by the victory of October. These were the first steps along the path to destroying capitalism and for this reason there was no justification in discarding everything that related to a description of commodity production and capitalism generally. Theoretically and politically this was incorrect.<sup>27</sup>

V. I. Lenin pointed out that Bukharin's demand to exclude a description of capitalism and a market economy from the theoretical part of the Program was wrong for a number of reasons, and primarily because this led to oversimplification, to approximation and, consequently, to a distorting of true reality. Bukharin's proposal, Lenin said, is also politically harmful because it leads to a negation of the role of the poorest peasantry as an ally of the proletariat in the socialist revolution and the middle peasantry as an ally of the working class in the building of socialism as well as to a denial of the role of the national liberation movement as an ally of the international working class in the struggle against imperialism.<sup>28</sup>

V. I. Lenin emphasized that in putting forward the transitional measures to socialism in the Program it was essential first of all to show those which would be necessary also for the proletariat of other countries and be an expression of the common patterns of socialist construction. To focus all attention in the Program just on those specific national transitional measures which are essential for Soviet Russia while possibly not necessary in Europe, Lenin said, would be theoretically wrong.<sup>29</sup>

On 8 March 1918, at the congress Lenin made public the "Draft Resolution on Changing the Party's Name and the Party Program" which he had written.<sup>30</sup>

In the process of the debates on the report and the draft resolution, Bukharin proposed supplementing the theoretical part of the Program with an extensive description of socialism and communism and the mentioning of the withering away of the state in the near future. This proposal stemmed from his theoretically incorrect notion on the question of the state which Lenin had pointed out in 1916. Lenin was against Bukharin's correction, having emphasized that the Program characterizes what had been established with absolute accuracy, that is, imperialism and the commenced era of socialist revolution. As for a description of socialism in its full form, communism, this could not be done now. Lenin urged that they be as cautious and precise as possible on this question. Lenin said that we cannot show how final socialism will appear or what it would be when it achieves its final forms because the material still does not exist for this, the bricks from which it should be built have not yet been created.<sup>31</sup> Lenin assumed that for the tasks of that moment on this level it was enough to use what had already been theoretically done by Marxism: first of all the indicating of the two phases of communism and that their economic basis would be public ownership of the means of production and the defining of the basic principles of distribution under socialism (according to labor) and under communism (according to need). Lenin did not consider it possible to unwisely skip ahead in the Program and divorce oneself from reality; he demanded that they proceed from practical reality, from life and not fancifulize and not be concerned with Utopia. At that time Lenin considered it premature to speak about the withering away of the state in the Program.

The Seventh Party Congress unanimously adopted the resolution proposed by Lenin.<sup>32</sup> In it the congress decreed that the party's name would be changed: the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) and the Party Program would be altered, having reworked the theoretical part or having supplemented it with a description of imperialism and the commenced age of socialist revolution. The resolution stipulated that the change in the Program's political part should consist in a precise and thorough description of the new type of state, the Soviet Republic, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and as a continuation of those victories of the international revolutionary movement which had been commenced by the Paris Commune. The other parts of the Program were to be reworked in the same direction. The focus, the resolution pointed out, should be on a precise description of the economic and other transformations commenced by Soviet power with a setting out of the specific tasks stemming from the already undertaken practical steps in the area of expropriating the expropriators.

The congress instructed the special commission as quickly as possible and on the basis of the resolution's instructions, to draw up a Party Program and approve

it.<sup>33</sup> Nine persons (seven members and two candidate members) headed by Lenin were elected to the commission.

The foreign military intervention and the Civil War which required all the forces of the party and the workers of the Soviet Republic deferred for some time a final approval of the Party Program but work on it did continue. On 17 December 1918, the Bureau of the RKP(b) Central Committee discussed the question of the next, Eighth Party Congress and the work of the commission led by Lenin to work out a Party Program. It was decided not to put off the party congress and to convene it at the designated time.<sup>34</sup>

In February 1919, the commission chosen by the Seventh RKP(b) Congress completed the work on the "Draft RKP(b) Program." Its basic provisions had been formulated by Lenin. A majority of the commission's members did not support the opportunistic proposals of Bukharin and followed Lenin. The commission also rejected, due to their unsatisfactoriness, the draft theoretical parts of the Program proposed by V. N. Podbel'skiy and N. V. Krylenko. V. I. Lenin wrote (before 23 February) the "Rough Sketch of a Draft RKP(b) Program." Lenin was responsible for setting out the guidelines in working out each of the Program sections. Thus, on the question of capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, he considered it possible to reproduce the basic provisions of the 1903 Program and this simultaneously made it possible to better bring out the historical roots of the Bolshevik Party ideology. Lenin proposed that the section dealing with imperialism be taken from his "Draft of Changes for the Theoretical, Political and Certain Other Parts of the Program" (1917). For describing the currents in the international working movement and for formulating a concept on the new International he considered it possible to use the same draft, after a certain reworking of it. Lenin advised that the section on the basic tasks of the proletarian dictatorship be borrowed from the draft worked out for the Seventh Party Congress. But Lenin rewrote the sections concretizing these tasks in the political, national, religious, pedagogical, economic and agrarian areas. The section concerning labor safety was assigned to the People's Commissar for Labor V. V. Shmidt.

V. I. Lenin rewrote the introductory part of the Program (§§1-3). The main thing in this was the provision that the socialist revolution which had commenced in Russia would grow and this meant the start of the era of proletarian revolution.

In describing the currents in the international working movement (§§16-18), Lenin emphasized the necessity of not only breaking with but also mercilessly combating such phenomena as chauvinism, centrism and opportunism and showed that the opportunists and social chauvinists, in being the servants of the bourgeoisie, are the class enemies of the proletariat. This section also mentioned a new Third Communist International the founding of which had actually been started by the formation of the communist parties.

By that time Soviet power had already nationalized the land, banks, large industry, the merchant fleet and so forth. For this reason, in the rough sketch Lenin proposed for the section "Basic Tasks of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia" a provision that the urgent task of this dictatorship was to complete the already commenced expropriation of the landowners and bourgeoisie

and to transfer the most important means of production and circulation to ownership of the Soviet Republic.

In the new draft he set out the provision on the federation of nations more thoroughly, having concretized the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the nationality question.<sup>35</sup> Lenin emphasized that the Communist Party's policy on this question was to constantly bring together the proletarians and the workers of all nations in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Having pointed out that under the conditions of Soviet power the mistrust inherited from imperialism for the Great Russians would quickly disappear among the workers of those nations which previously were part of the Russian Empire, Lenin at the same time pointed to the necessity of showing particular caution for national feelings and for carrying out effective work to ensure equality and the freedom of the nations to actually secede as an indispensable condition for establishing a voluntary, very close union of the Soviet republics of all nations. In this draft Lenin for the first time formulated the point on the tasks of the RKP(b) and the proletarian revolution in terms of religion, that is, not to be satisfied by the fact that the church was separate from the state and the school from the church, but to achieve the actual liberation of the workers from religious prejudices by propaganda and by raising the awareness of the masses. "The party will endeavor," wrote Lenin, "to fully destroy the link between the exploiting classes and the organization of religious propaganda and also to actually liberate the working masses from religious prejudices, in organizing the most extensive scientific-educational and antireligious propaganda for this. Here it is essential to carefully avoid any insulting of the feelings of believers as this merely leads to the strengthening of religious fanaticism."<sup>36</sup>

In setting out in the new draft Program, the tasks for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party in the area of public education, Lenin emphasized the necessity of turning the school from a weapon of class domination by the bourgeoisie into a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat. During the period of transition from capitalism to communism, he pointed out, the school should be not only the proponent of communist principles generally but also the proponent of the proletariat's influence on the other strata of the working masses in the aim of indoctrinating the builders of communism. Among the immediate tasks along this path mention was made of those such as free and compulsory general education for children up to the age of 16, a close link of instruction with socioproduction labor and so forth.<sup>37</sup>

V. I. Lenin wrote the paragraphs of the Program's economic part devoted to the questions of discipline and labor productivity (§§2-3). "Particularly great attention," stated the sketch of the second paragraph, "should be paid to the development and strengthening of the comradely discipline of workers and the all-round rise in their independence and awareness of responsibility. This is the main, if not the sole means for finally overcoming capitalism and the habits engendered by the rule of private ownership of the means of production. The achieving of this goal requires steady, slow work on the reeducating of the masses...."<sup>38</sup> These instructions by Lenin are also timely under present-day conditions, when under the party's initiative, a struggle has been initiated to strengthen conscious discipline and order and a creative attitude toward labor as well as for increasing organization and responsibility.

In the designated paragraphs Lenin pointed to the necessity of completing the associating of all workers in production trade unions and particularly emphasized the task of achieving higher labor productivity in comparison with capitalism. "A rise in labor productivity," he wrote, "comprises one of the fundamental tasks, for without this a final transition to communism is impossible."<sup>39</sup>

On 23, 24 and 25 February 1919, under Lenin's chairmanship, sessions were held by the program commission. The first of them discussed and finally adopted the theoretical part of the RKP(b) Program. Since Bukharin continued to insist on excluding a description of premonopolistic capitalism and a simple market economy from the general theoretical part of the Program, Lenin was forced to return to a criticism of this demand. A majority of the commission adopted (with insignificant corrections) Lenin's draft of the Program's theoretical part and rejected Bukharin's proposal.<sup>40</sup>

After this Lenin continued to work on the draft of the Program's political part, writing the first paragraph of the point dealing with the courts, he drew up a plan for a section dealing with punishments and wrote a paragraph on art (§10) of the section dealing with public education and so forth.<sup>41</sup>

On 24 February, the session of the program commission discussed and finally adopted the political part of the Program. In discussing the point dealing with politics in the area of nationality relations, Lenin again criticized Bukharin who had been against recognizing the right of nations to self-determination and had proposed a demand on the self-determination of the working classes in each nation. The commission rejected Bukharin's proposal.<sup>42</sup>

In preparing the Program's economic part, Lenin revised the points dealing with the use of the old specialists, the tasks of Soviet power in the area of distribution and so forth. On 25 February, at the final session of the program commission, the economic part of the draft Program after discussion was finally adopted.<sup>43</sup>

The entire "Draft Program of the RKP(b)" was published as a separate pamphlet for the Eighth Party Congress. A copy has survived with editorial corrections made by Lenin and in his writing the words: "Lenin's copy."<sup>44</sup>

The draft was discussed in many party organizations: at 2 congresses of the Union Republic Communist Parties, at 23 provincial party congresses, 2 city-wide and 2 army conferences. Participating in the discussion of the draft were 200,000 out of the 240,000 party members who were represented at the Eighth Congress.<sup>45</sup>

On 14 March 1919, at a session of the RKP(b) Central Committee the agenda and schedule for holding the Eighth Party Congress were approved. The Central Committee instructed Lenin to give the political and organizational report as well as a speech on the Party Program at the congress.<sup>46</sup> In addition to Lenin, due to the existing differences of opinion in the program commission over the question of capitalism and imperialism and also the nationality question, Bukharin was also to speak at the congress.

The Eighth RKP(b) Congress opened on 18 March. The Party Program was discussed on 19 March, at the second and third sessions of the congress. Lenin gave the "Report on the Party Program" at the second session. He took up a number of specific questions which had either evoked differences of opinion or were of most interest to the party at that time. The first was about the nature of the organization of the Program's theoretical part and the second was the nationality question.

Above we have already mentioned why Lenin considered as wrong Bukharin's proposal to exclude a description of capitalism from the new Program.

Bukharin's proposal on the question of the right of nations to self-determination had also led to an incorrect understanding of the real processes and, consequently, to mistakes in policy. He had set this out both in the program commission and at the congress. Bukharin felt that since a nation is the bourgeoisie along with the proletariat and the proletariat is already differentiated and separate from the bourgeoisie, then it supposedly follows that from the viewpoint of a proletarian party one must speak not about the self-determination of nations but rather the self-determination of the workers. In showing the erroneousness of Bukharin's viewpoint, at a session of the commission on 24 February, Lenin emphasized that the correct resolution of the nationality question will help to win over the workers of all the Russian peoples to defend the victories of the revolution and to build socialism. But if the Marxist party rejected the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination this inevitably would create conditions for strengthening the influence of bourgeois ideology on the workers. Lenin emphasized that Soviet power cannot abandon a recognition of the right to self-determination for any of the peoples living within the limits of the former Russian Empire. All nations have the right to self-determination. This also contributes to the self-determination of the workers, to their separation from the bourgeoisie and to class differentiation within the nations. "...The Program must write with absolute accuracy what actually is. Then our program is unassailable,"<sup>47</sup> wrote Lenin. The nations are on various steps of the way from the Middle Ages to bourgeois democracy and from bourgeois democracy to proletarian. For this reason, he emphasized, this provision in the Party Program is absolutely right. We cannot help but recognize what is: this itself forces its recognition. Lenin viewed Bukharin's proposal as fundamentally wrong.

After a discussion of the draft program, Lenin proposed taking it as the basis and submitting it to the congress program commission. He was elected a member of this commission and on 20 March chaired its first session. The commission adopted Lenin's draft as the basis. Lenin spoke several times in discussing the supplements and amendments to the draft.<sup>48</sup> The commission instructed Lenin to write an additional, third point on the Program's political part on the guarantees for political rights and liberties. This he did on the very same day. This point was approved at the commission's second session.<sup>49</sup> During the discussion of the Draft Program in the Area of Public Education submitted by the communist fraction at the People's Commissariat of Education,<sup>50</sup> Lenin wrote a draft of additions on this question: on polytechnical education for the use and adults, on the independence of children in school, on the participation of trade unions in the work of the school, on instruction in the mother tongue and so forth.<sup>51</sup> These Leninist theses lay at the basis of the operation of the

Soviet school. They are also timely now in line with the forthcoming school reform which envisages a number of measures to strengthen the labor indoctrination of the Soviet youth and for increasing the role of the school in developing a Marxist ideology in the youth.

On 22 March 1919, the Eighth RKP(b) Congress unanimously adopted the Party Program.<sup>52</sup> This Program was an important theoretical contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist teachings about socialism. It armed the party and all the workers of the Soviet Republic with a scientifically sound description of the struggle for building a socialist society in our country and was of enormous international significance. In the "Speech at the Closing of the Congress" on 23 March, Lenin, in speaking about the RKP(b) Program, expressed confidence that it "has already entered the history of the Third International as a program summing up the new stage of the world-wide liberation movement of the proletariat.... In a whole number of nations...the mere translation of our program will be the best answer to the question of what has been done by the Russian Communist Party which represents one of the detachments of the world proletariat. Our program will be the strongest material for propaganda and agitation and will be that document on the basis of which the workers will say: 'Here are our comrades, our brothers, and here our common cause is being carried out!'"<sup>53</sup>

The text of the "RKP(b) Program" was published in the newspapers. The Publishing House Kommunist published it in the form of a pamphlet. Already on 28 March, Lenin was working on its revision<sup>54</sup> and after making corrections wrote the comment on it: "Corrected by Lenin on 28 March."<sup>55</sup> After the publishing of the pamphlet, Lenin examined it (not before 28 May), he made comments and wrote on its cover: "Lenin."<sup>56</sup>

The Second Party Program was the world's first program for the construction of socialism. "The October Revolution of 25 October (7 November) 1917 in Russia realized the dictatorship of the proletariat which with the support of the poorest peasantry or the semiproletariat began to establish the foundations of a communist society,"<sup>57</sup> were the starting words in the text of this Program. It described those measures which had already been accomplished by Soviet power and outlined specific tasks for the proletarian dictatorship in the area of a further advance along the path of building socialism.

It was a question first of all of fully realizing the principles of proletarian democracy, completing the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and turning the means of production and circulation into the common property of all the workers.

One of the fundamental tasks provided for by the Program was the planned management of the entire national economy, the maximum unification of all the nation's economic activities with the aid of a single state-wide plan, the greatest centralization (for the individual sectors and groups of sectors) of production and coordination of the entire production apparatus, the rational and economic use of all the nation's material resources.

The main task which determined the entire economic policy of Soviet power was the greatest possible development of the nation's productive forces, the establishing of the material basis of socialism and increasing the prosperity of the workers.

The reconstruction and development of the nation's productive forces and the strengthening of the socialist production method, the Program stated, were possible only on the basis of a new, comradely, socialist discipline of the workers.

The Program also focused on the further development of the measures adopted by Soviet power and aimed at the development of science and bringing it closer to production. The best conditions were to be established for scientific work aimed at raising the nation's productive forces.

In the agricultural area, the Program envisaged a further move by the party to the fullest possible carrying out of measures commenced by Soviet power even at the end of 1917 and aimed at organizing large-scale socialist farming. These measures were the only way for increasing the productivity of agricultural labor and included the following: the establishing of Soviet farms, the maintaining of associations for the social [public] working of the land, the organizing of the state planting of unplanted lands, the state mobilizing of all agronomical forces and support for the agricultural communes as completely voluntary peasant unions for large-scale public farming.

The Program stated that the party seize one of the fundamental tasks of communist construction in eliminating the contradictions between city and countryside and along with the general measures considers it essential to widely involve the industrial workers in communist construction in the countryside.

In all its work in the countryside, the Program stated, the party continues to rely on the proletarian and semiproletarian strata of the peasantry and seeks a strong alliance with the middle peasantry for a decisive struggle against the kulkary [rich peasants].

The victory of socialism in the USSR was the main result of implementing the Second Party Program. "In following untrod paths," the current CPSU Program states, "in overcoming difficulties and hardships, the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party carried out the plan for building socialism as elaborated by Lenin. Socialism has been victorious in the Soviet Union completely and finally."<sup>58</sup>

In the course of carrying out the Second Party Program a new, socialist economy was established. Socialist production relationships became established in all the national economic sectors. The socialist ownership of the means of production became a sound economic base for society. The industrialization of the nation, the collectivization of agriculture and a cultural revolution were carried out.

The class structure of Soviet society has also altered. All exploiting classes have been eliminated and the exploitation of man by man abolished. There have been fundamental changes in the working class, the class of peasantry and the closely linked labor intelligentsia.

The nationality question was settled. At the end of 1922, the unbreakable Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was established and this was a convincing example of the embodiment of Lenin's principles of the nationality policy. All peoples



of the Soviet Union were organized once and for all as socialist nations. Instead of mistrust between the individual nations, international friendship and fraternal collaboration arose and grew stronger between all the Soviet socialist nations. A strong sociopolitical and ideological unity was formed among the Soviet people and they became a new type of human community.

The victory of socialism fundamentally improved the material situation of the workers. Conditions were established for the further rapid growth of social production on a socialist basis and for increasing the well-being of the Soviet people.

In the process of socialist construction, the ideas set down in the Second Party Program underwent further development and concretization in the works of V. I. Lenin and the documents of the party and the Soviet government. They reflected the party's theoretical work in analyzing and generalizing the experience of the masses led by the party and the development patterns of social life. Of important significance was the theoretical elaboration of problems related to the GOELRO [State Commission for the Electrification of Russia] Plan, the NEP [New Economic Policy], the five-year plans, the programs for industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution, the resolving of the nationality question, the struggle against the Trotskyites and other antiparty currents and groups, for the unity of the communist ranks and for uniting the working people of the Soviet nation under the banner of building socialism.

Both when V. I. Lenin was alive and in the following periods of activity, the party, in following the principles of materialistic dialectics, tested its program ideas by practice and moved boldly to develop revolutionary theory. It proceeded thus in working out the current Program, too, and is proceeding in the same manner now in preparing a new version of it considering primarily the conclusions which have comprised the essence of the concept of developed socialism.

The CPSU gives enormous attention to an analysis of the particular features of the present-day period and to accurately determining the degree of socioeconomic maturity achieved by Soviet society. Proceeding from this the party is working out strictly scientific bases for its policy. An extremely important role in this area is played by the notion of developed socialism as an historically extended stage with the Soviet nation being in its beginning. In the course of carrying out the tasks related to improving developed socialism, the CPSU emphasizes, there will be a gradual advance to communism.

"It is difficult to overestimate the fundamental political importance of these conclusions drawn by the party," said Comrade K. U. Chernenko in a speech at a meeting with voters from the Kuybyshev Electoral District of Moscow on 2 March 1984. "They make it possible to see more clearly the picture of our society's development in all its complexity, contradictoriness and diversity. They help in practically eliminating those discrepancies which at times have been allowed between word and deed, between the real possibilities of society and unsound forecasts. At present the party Central Committee is carrying out the exceptionally important work of preparing a new version of the CPSU Program precisely from this viewpoint.<sup>59</sup>

An analysis of the Leninist laboratory and the process of working out the Party Program provides grounds to draw the following conclusions. Lenin emphasized above all that the Party Program should be strictly scientific and based upon Marxist revolutionary theory applied to a concrete historical situation. It should reflect that development level of revolutionary theory which has been achieved by the time of its compiling. "We must proceed from that Marxist thesis which is recognized by everyone that the program should rest on a scientific foundation,"<sup>60</sup> he emphasized at the Eighth RKP(b) Congress. According to Lenin, "the program is a description of what we have begun to do as well as the following steps which we want to take."<sup>61</sup>

The Party Program should be strictly realistic and based on a precise economic and political analysis of that specific historical, international and domestic situation, under the conditions of which it is created. "...The Party Program should be marked by economic preciseness and not be excessive."<sup>62</sup> Lenin emphasized the enormous indoctrinational significance of the Program. "We have indoctrinated the party of the proletariat by a Marxist program,"<sup>63</sup> said Lenin, having in mind the First RSDRP Program adopted in 1903. The party program should be the most accurate, thorough and irreproachable description possible of what has already been achieved on the path of the development of the revolutionary movement and the construction of socialism and communism. It must be based on a correct analysis of the actually existing facts. Lenin emphasized: "The program of a Marxist party should proceed from absolutely precisely established facts.... Only on this basis should the Marxists create their program."<sup>64</sup> The 1903 Party Program, as Lenin pointed out, was based exclusively on precisely established facts and this was the basis of its strength which was confirmed. This principle was strictly adhered to in preparing the RKP(b) Program adopted in 1919.

V. I. Lenin pointed to the necessity of particular caution in describing a future society in the program. "...It is essential to be as cautious and precise as possible," he said at the Seventh RKP(b) Congress. "This will be and only this will be the enticing force of our program. And if we make even the slightest claims for things that we cannot produce then this will weaken the strength of our program."<sup>65</sup>

V. I. Lenin taught that the Party Program should not be limited to just what was characteristic or specific to our country and party. "In order to be international," he commented, "our program should consider those class aspects which are economically characteristic for all countries."<sup>66</sup>

V. I. Lenin also gave great importance to the question of the wording of the text for the Party Program. "...Anyone who has worked on the programs and resolutions knows how frequently the careful wording of a well-known point discloses and eliminates fundamental ambiguities and differences of opinion,"<sup>67</sup> he wrote in the article "On Revising the Party Program."

In characterizing the basic areas of preparing for a new version of the CPSU Program, the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee particularly emphasized the necessity of following the Leninist traditions in this very crucial matter.<sup>68</sup>

# FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> See: "Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 14-15 iyunya 1983 goda. Stenograficheskiy otchet" [Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee of 14-15 June 1983. Verbatim Report], Moscow, 1983, p 8.
- <sup>2</sup> "Materialy vneocherednogo Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 13 fevralya 1984 goda" [Materials of the Extraordinary Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee of 13 February 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 17.
- <sup>3</sup> See, for example: V. Bystryanskiy, "Lenin and the VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Program," PARTRABOTNIK, 1929, No 1, pp 21-27; V. Bystryanskiy, "On the Tenth Anniversary of the Second VKP(b) Program (1919-1929)," KRASNAYA LETOPIS', 1929, No 2, pp 5-23; V. Malakhovskiy, "The VKP(b) Program and Its Development (A Brief Historical Essay)," STARYY BOL'SHEVIK [The Old Bolshevik], Collection 1(9), Moscow, 1934, pp 19-59; Collection 3(11), Moscow, 1934, pp 26-57; M. P. Stepanov, "K voprosu ob istorii programmy RSDRP" [On the Question of the History of the RSDRP Program], Moscow, 1947; M. A. Moskaev, "Razrabotka V. I. Leninym programmy Kommunisticheskoy partii" [The Elaboration of the Communist Party Program by Lenin], Moscow, 1961; V. V. Platkovskiy, "The Triumph of Lenin's Party Program Principles," VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, 1961, No 4, pp 29-48; "O programme KPSS" [On the CPSU Program], Collection of Articles, Part 1, "The Elaboration and Realization of the First and Second Party Programs," Moscow, 1961; K. M. Kasradze, "Ocherk istorii Programmy KPSS" [Essay on the History of the CPSU Program], Moscow, 1962; "Istoriya KPSS" [History of the CPSU], in 6 volumes, Vol 3, Book 2, Moscow, 1968, pp 254-264; A. Solov'yev, "Program Principles of the New Type Marxist Party," KOMMUNIST, 1973, No 9, pp 15-27; A. A. Voronovich, "Istoriya Programmy KPSS" [History of the CPSU Program], Moscow, 1979; N. I. Ganin, "Leninskaya programma stroitel'stva sotsializma v SSSR. (K 60-letiyu Vtoroy partiynoy Programmy)" [The Leninist Program for Building Socialism in the USSR. (On the 60th Anniversary of the Second Party Program)], Moscow, 1979; N. D. Ryaskin, "Vtoraya programma Kommunisticheskoy partii (Istoricheskiy opyt razrabotki partiynoy programmy)" [The Second Program of the Communist Party (Historical Experience of Working Out a Party Program)], Leningrad, 1980, and so forth.
- <sup>4</sup> See V. I. Lenin, PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 31, p 410.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibid., p 116.
- <sup>6</sup> See N. D. Ryaskin, "Vtoraya programma Kommunisticheskoy...", pp 60-66.
- <sup>7</sup> See V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 54, pp 482-487; "Sed'maya (Aprel'skaya) Vserossiyskaya konferentsiya RSDRP (bol'shevikov). Petrogradskaya obshchegorodskaya konferentsiya RSDRP (bol'shevikov). April' 1917 goda. Protokoly" [The Seventh (April) All-Russian RSDRP (Bolshevik) Conference. Petrograd City Conference of the RSDRP (Bolshevik). April 1917. Minutes], Moscow, 1958, p 265.
- <sup>8</sup> See V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 32, pp 145-146.

- <sup>9</sup> See *ibid.*, Vol 31, pp 410-413.
- <sup>10</sup> See "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya khronika" [Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biographical Chronicle], Vol 4, Moscow, 1973, p 187.
- <sup>11</sup> See: "Leninskiy sbornik" [Leninist Collection], XXI, pp 80-81.
- <sup>12</sup> See: V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 31, pp 426-427, 428; Vol 32, p 143.
- <sup>13</sup> See *ibid.*, Vol 49, p 449.
- <sup>14</sup> See: VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, 1965, No 11, pp 90-91.
- <sup>15</sup> See: "Shestoy s"yezd RSDRP (bol'shevikov). Avgust 1917 goda. Protokoly" [Sixth Congress of the RSDRP (Bolshevik). August 1917. Minutes], Moscow, 1958, p 238.
- <sup>16</sup> See: V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 34, pp 140-141.
- <sup>17</sup> See: "Materialy po peresmotru partiynoy programmy" [Materials on the Revising of the Party Program], Collection of Articles by V. Milyutin, V. Sokol'nikov, A. Lomov and V. Smirnov, Moscow, 1917; "Protokoly Tsentral'nogo Komiteta RSDRP(b). Avgust 1917--fevral' 1918" [Minutes of the Central Committee of the RSDRP(b). August 1917-February 1918], Moscow, 1958, pp 75-76.
- <sup>18</sup> See: V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 34, pp 370-372.
- <sup>19</sup> See: *ibid.*, Vol 34, pp 380-381.
- <sup>20</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 444.
- <sup>21</sup> See: V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 35, p 329.
- <sup>22</sup> See: "Protokoly Tsentral'nogo Komiteta....," pp 192-193.
- <sup>23</sup> See: V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 36, pp 45, 60.
- <sup>24</sup> See: *ibid.*, Vol 32, p 151.
- <sup>25</sup> See: *ibid.*, as well as Vol 34, pp 371-372.
- <sup>26</sup> See: *ibid.*, Vol 36, pp 70-76.
- <sup>27</sup> See: *ibid.*, pp 48-49.
- <sup>28</sup> See: *ibid.*, pp 45-50; Vol 38, pp 151-156, 174-184; "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya....," Vol 6, 1975, pp 551-552.
- <sup>29</sup> See: V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 36, pp 49-50.
- <sup>30</sup> See: *ibid.*, pp 58-59, 60-61.

- 31 See: *ibid.*, p 66.
- 32 See: "Sed'moy Ekstrenny s"yezd RKP(b). Mart 1918 goda. Stenograficheskiy otchet" [Seventh Emergency Congress of the RKP(b). March 1918. Verbatim Report], Moscow, 1962, p 162.
- 33 See: V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 36, pp 58-59.
- 34 See: "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya...", Vol 6, p 319; V. V. Anikeev, "Deyatel'nost' TsK RKP(b) v 1918-1919 godakh (Khronika sobytiy)" [Activities of the RKP(b) Central Committee in 1918-1919. (Chronicle of Events)], Moscow, 1976, p 91.
- 35 See: V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 38, pp 111, 113.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p 118.
- 37 See: *ibid.*, pp 96, 116-117.
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp 96-97.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p 97.
- 40 See: "Vos'moy s"yezd RKP(b). Mart 1919 goda. Protokoly" [Eighth RKP(b) Congress. March 1919. Minutes], Moscow, 1959, pp 34, 45-46, 48-52; "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya...", Vol 6, pp 551-552.
- 41 See: V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 38, p 408; "Leninskiy sbornik," VIII, pp 55, 57-58, 61-62, 67, 81, 85; "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya...", Vol 6, p 552.
- 42 See: "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya...", Vol 6, p 553.
- 43 See: *ibid.*, pp 555, 557.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p 558.
- 45 See: N. D. Ryaskin, "Istoricheskiy opyt razrabotki Programmy KPSS" [Historical Experience of Working Out the CPSU Program], Author Resume of Doctoral Dissertation, Leningrad, 1982, p 22.
- 46 See: "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya...", Vol 6, p 594.
- 47 V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 38, p 159.
- 48 See: *ibid.*, p 184; "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya...", Vol 7, 1976, p 6; "Vos'moy s"yezd RKP(b)," pp 115-116.
- 49 See: "Vos'moy s"yezd RKP(b)," p 389; "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya...", Vol 7, p 6.
- 50 See: "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya...", Vol 7, p 7.

- 51 See: V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 38, p 409.
- 52 G. Pyatakov proposed striking from §9 of the Program the words "recognition of the right of state secession for colonies and nations without equal rights," a provision about who is the carrier of a nation's will for secession, and made a number of his own additions (see: "Vos'moy s'yezd RKP(b)," p 337). Pyatakov's proposal was rejected by the congress.
- 53 V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 38, p 212.
- 54 See: "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya...", Vol 7, p 26.
- 55 V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 38, between pp 416 and 417.
- 56 See: "Biblioteka V. I. Lenina v Kremle. Katalog" [The V. I. Lenin Library in the Kremlin. Catalog], Moscow, 1961, p 125; "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya...", Vol 7, p 240.
- 57 "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s'yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], 8th Edition, Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 37.
- 58 "Materialy XXII s'yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 22d CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1961, p 321.
- 59 K. U. Chernenko, "Narod i partiya yediny. Rech' na vstreche s izbiratelyami Kuybyshevskogo izbiratel'nogo okruga g. Moskvy 2 marta 1984 g." [The People and the Party Are One. Speech at a Meeting With Voters of the Kuybyshev Electoral District of Moscow on 2 March 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 19.
- 60 V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 38, p 178.
- 61 Ibid., Vol 36, p 66.
- 62 Ibid., Vol 34, p 367.
- 63 Ibid., Vol 38, p 180.
- 64 Ibid., Vol 36, p 48.
- 65 Ibid., Vol 36, p 66.
- 66 Ibid., Vol 38, p 177.
- 67 Ibid., Vol 34, p 381.
- 68 See: "Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta...", p 114.

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## NATIONAL

### MOSCOW CONFERENCE ON IDEOLOGICAL WAR DETAILED

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 3, May-Jun 84 (signed to press 17 May 84) pp 133-136

[Report by S. Ye. Grechikho in the section "Scientific Life": "Discussion of Topical Problems of the Ideological Struggle"]

[Text] The intensification of the ideological struggle is one of the distinctive features of the current confrontation between capitalism and socialism. It was noted at the June, 1983, plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that "In the international arena a sharp intensification, unprecedented in the whole postwar period, is taking place in the struggle between two social systems, between two diametrically opposed philosophies" (Materialy Plenuma TsK KPSS, 14-15 iyunya 1983 g. [Materials of the CC CPSU Plenum, 14-15 June 1983] Moscow, 1983, p 68 Militant imperialist circles are attempting to turn a dispute between ideologies into a psychological war, into a means of undermining the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and aggravating tensions; to this end they are steadily intensifying ideological subversion of existing socialism and the revolutionary movement as a whole.

In this connection, it is especially important to examine the ideological processes taking place in the nonsocialist world, analyze current trends in the development of bourgeois, reformist and revisionist ideologies, provide a critique of our ideological opponents' views, and rebuff any attempts to distort Marxism-Leninism.

These questions were examined at the scientific conference, "Topical Problems of the Ideological Struggle in Present-Day Conditions" (1983), organized by the Moscow Branch of the USSR Philosophical Society and attended by representatives of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, the CC CPSU'S Institute of Marxism-Leninism and Academy of Social Sciences, the Military Political Academy imeni Lenin, the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy and Scientific Council on Problems of Foreign Ideological Schools, Moscow University, the Moscow Institute of Management, and other agencies and organizations. The conference was opened by I. P. Soroka, deputy chief of the agitation and propaganda department of the Moscow City CPSU Committee. He noted its importance for implementing the tasks set before Soviet social science and ideological personnel by the June, 1983, Central Committee Plenum.

In his introductory statement, Professor A. P. Sheptulin, doctor of philosophical sciences, chairman of the the Moscow section of the USSR Philosophical Society, stressed the conference's topicality in connection with the intensified ideological activity of imperialism and its attempts to penetrate the socialist countries ideologically.

He pointed out certain changes which have occurred in the methods and devices of the ideological enemies of Marxism-Leninism, who are forced to reckon with the growing influence of communist ideology in the world and its winning over of ever new adherents in different countries. That is why bourgeois ideologists frequently replace the old methods of "criticism" of scientific communism with more subtle and refined methods which pretend to accept certain postulates of Marxism-Leninism while advocating its "refurbishing" and "bringing it in line with changed historical conditions." All this makes it necessary to undertake a thorough analysis of modern bourgeois and revisionist views, revealing their reactionary, pseudo-scientific and anti-humanitarian nature. A. P. Sheptulin specifically emphasized the importance of intensifying the attacking character and justification of critiques of non-Marxist theories of social development and of combining them with positive elaboration of problems of Marxism-Leninism.

Prof. V. D. Granov, doctor of philosophical sciences, noted in his contribution that the intensification of the ideological attacks of imperialism was indicative of the deepening of its crisis, confirming the fact that socialism and the forces of progress were on the strategic offensive. International capitalism is striving to regain the historical initiative by means of a "crusade" against communism. Granov stressed the diversity of ideological schools in the imperialist camp and identified some characteristic features of ideological processes in the nonsocialist world: the leftward shift of the masses and their departure from capitalistic ideological movements; modification of the ideological maneuvers of the exploiter classes and their attempts to stake on neoconservatism, on the one hand, and pseudosocialist ideology, on the other. He stressed that in ideological work and scientific studies it was necessary to reveal more deeply the essence of the aggressive policies of imperialism as the main threat to the cause of peace, quickly expose its propagandistic maneuvers, and selectively analyze the political stance of different peace movements.

Prof. D. F. Kazakov, doctor of philosophical sciences, devoted his paper to the importance of taking a party-class approach to the evaluation of different non-Marxist ideological schools and concepts. In view of the refined methods of subversive imperialist propaganda, when exposing its "arguments" it is essential to go by party and class principles, to evaluate various ideological propositions from the point of view of whose class interests they serve.

Bourgeois theoreticians and politicians, as well as their allies in the camp of opportunism and revisionism, display remarkable resourcefulness in the ideological struggle with world socialism and the communist, workers and national-liberation movement, usually operating under the sign of spokesmen for national interests and proponents of "objective truth." However, when put to the test, it invariably turns out that underlying attempts of the



apologists of capitalism to present their ideological constructions as an objective view of the state of affairs and an unbiased approach to this or that question are the narrow class interests and private-ownership aspirations of the bourgeoisie. That is why the purity of Marxism-Leninism can be ensured only by taking a strict class approach to critiques of theories hostile to it.

Professor G. D. Karpov, doctor of philosophical sciences, dwelt in his address on criticism of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism as weapons of imperialist circles in the struggle against socialism. He noted that the exploiter classes are gambling on intensifying efforts of ideological penetration into the socialist countries and undermining the socialist system from within, using such methods as taking advantage of difficulties and mistakes in the process of creating the new society, fanning vestiges of nationalism, ideological subversion, promotion of "quiet," "creeping" counterrevolution, etc. Historical experience teaches that imperialist reaction disdains no methods in the struggle against existing socialism, from concocted, lying propaganda campaigns to attempts at direct interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries with the aim of deforming the social system. This calls for the heightened vigilance and responsibility of all members of socialist society, ideological workers in the first place.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. P. Agafonov and Prof. I. A. Kozikov, doctor of philosophical sciences, showed the insolvency of bourgeois and revisionist views of the contemporary age, their pseudoscientific and apologist nature. Our ideological adversaries try to oppose the Marxist-Leninist periodization of the historical process with their own. They base their periodization on extra-class features: the level of cultural development, especially the public consciousness (A. Toynbee and P. Sorokin, in developing the concept of "world civilizations") or the degree of technical and technological development (W. Rostow, D. Bell, K. Bolding, J. Galbraith, R. Aron, A. Toffler, Z. Brzezinski, in developing the theory of technological determinism). The methodological insolvency of such constructions stems, in the former case, from a subjective idealist approach to studying the historical process and an absolutization of infrastructural, i.e., secondary aspects of public life; in the latter case it is a vulgar mechanistic approach, a deliberate restriction of the characteristics of the basis of society to only the technological aspect of this or that method of production. The authors of the technological concepts deliberately "sidestep" consideration of property relations as the determinant of production and other relations. The purpose of such constructions is to distort the truth that the essence of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism and that the social force in engineering this transition is the working class.

Revisionistic interpretations of the contemporary epoch are based on the same "technological determinism," but fashioned by means of reformist notions of social development, the essence of which boils down to the notorious concept of "democratic socialism."

Leftist ideological constructions identify all revolutions in the modern world with socialist revolution and assign the leading role in carrying out revolutionary change not to the working class but to other social strata, which are

in actuality incapable of consistently and resolutely fighting against imperialism and can achieve only improvements, not a radical rebuilding of capitalist society.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. G. Burov devoted his paper to exposing anticommunist attacks against existing socialism. In view of the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and the ever more apparent baring of its inherent sores and evils, on the one hand, and the growing prestige of existing socialism in the international arena and ever fuller demonstration of its advantages over capitalism, on the other, apologists of bourgeois society are stepping up their ideological struggle against the socialist system. Their ideological subversion is targeted against all spheres of life of socialist society: economics, politics, and ideology. Since the anticommunists are forced to reckon with the popularity of Marxism-Leninism, which has been growing lately among the broad masses of the nonsocialist world, they seek to present themselves as exponents of the "genuine views" of Karl Marx on communist society and to contrast them to existing socialism. Burov showed the futility of anticommunist attempts to find any "incompatibilities" between different socio-political developments in the life of society in the socialist countries and the Marxist-Leninist doctrines of the new society. He convincingly demonstrated that the purpose of such attempts was to turn working people away from socialism.

Candidate of Economic Sciences B. V. Arkhipov criticized anti-Marxist concepts of needs. Bourgeois ideologists misrepresent the principle of distribution according to needs and falsify its Marxist-Leninist interpretation either by constructing models of the so-called "mass consumption society" or by denying the very possibility of realizing that principle. The methodological deficiency of such concoctions, Arkhipov said, is due to the fact that they are based on a metaphysical approach to societal life, ignore the deterministic impact of the mode of social production on relations of distribution, and deny the progressive development of both factors of production, the substantive and the personal. He presented a well-argued critique of the attempts of leftist extremists to declare the growing satisfaction of material needs a counter-revolutionary factor. Such "theories" are based on a vulgar materialistic view of the essence of man. Marxism-Leninism explains the motivation of human actions in terms of both natural and social living conditions. This thesis is of great importance for exposing concepts about the "materialization" of people and mass spread of consumerism and "cult of things" allegedly taking place in socialist society.

Professor N. I. Khmara, doctor of philosophical sciences, devoted his report to criticism of modern bourgeois falsifications of the sources of the war threat. He showed that various anticommunist concepts of the alleged "Soviet military threat" are attempts to justify the aggressive policies of imperialism, the United States and its NATO allies in the first place, mislead the peoples regarding the real sources of the war threat, and conceal the real causes of the current aggravation of the international situation. A scientific analysis of the socio-political contradictions of capitalist society and the real course of events in the world arena indicate that imperialism has been and remains the source of the danger of war and the intensification of

international tensions; it remains the basis of the reactionary, militaristic policies of the militant circles of the exploiter classes currently striving to achieve military superiority over the socialist countries.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Ye. S. Troitskiy analyzed the social essence of the concept of "international terrorism" and showed its origins, class content and political direction. The purpose of this concept is to discredit the fighters for national and social liberation so as to justify the reactionary, interventionistic foreign policy of the United States, the use of repression and overt armed force to suppress the peoples' liberation, anti-imperialist struggle. The authors and exponents of this "concept" speak from openly reactionary positions. Attempts to accuse the socialist countries, revolutionary movement and, primarily, the national-liberation movement of supporting and inspiring international terrorism have become a leitmotiv of the American administration's ideological and political strategy of unleashing psychological war against existing socialism and other revolutionary forces. Actually it is imperialism which pursues hegemonistic policies in the world arena and openly supports violence in international relations. Marxism-Leninism resolutely rejects terror as a method of class struggle. The consistent practical efforts of existing socialism aimed at promoting equitable, mutually beneficial, diversified cooperation of countries has won the recognition and approval of all progressive forces in the world.

Candidate of Philosophical sciences V. N. Ponomarev criticized the ideology of American neoconservatism and analyzed the typical features of the movement's socio-political program. He emphasized that it preaches return to the past and the goal of so-called "zero-growth" and calls for rejection of orientation on the forward development of the economy. Characterizing neoconservatism as a whole, the speaker noted that it speaks for the interests of the most reactionary circles of the exploiter classes and represents a regressive, antihumanitarian and antipopular theory of social development.

Neoconservatism is one of the "recipes" for leading capitalist society out of the current crisis situation which has engulfed all its spheres, when it has become entangled in internal and international antagonisms, upheavals and conflicts (see: Materialy Plenuma TsK KPSS, 14-15 iyunya 1983 g [Materials of the Plenum of the CC CPSU, 14-15 June 1983], p 24).

S. Ye. Grechikho revealed the groundlessness of the attempts of bourgeois ideologists to counterpose the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and the principle of proletarian internationalism. He showed that this artificial counterposition is an ideological cover for imperialist actions aimed at subverting detente, whipping up the arms race and aggravating international tensions. In reality there is no, and cannot be any, incompatibility between the socialist states' policy of peaceful coexistence and their giving aid to revolutionary movements in the nonsocialist part of the world. The indicated bourgeois doctrines reveal the desire of the exploiter classes to extend the principle of peaceful coexistence to the class struggle.

Analyzing current trends in social-democratic ideology, Doctor of Historical Sciences V. F. Masich noted the growth of left-wing sentiments within social-democratic ranks, including a heightened interest in Marxism. This can be explained by the objective need for social-democratic leaders to display greater responsibility in their approach to important international problems, primarily that of averting thermonuclear war. As the sharp drift to the right is overcome one can observe growing differentiation and division within the social-democratic movement. The right-wing forces stubbornly strive to impose their anticommunist doctrine on it. At the same time, the position taken by the left wing is ambiguous and profoundly contradictory: on the one hand there is a revision of optimistic assessments and hopes regarding the development of capitalist economies, the growth of antimilitaristic moods, and action against the policies of aggressive imperialist circles; on the other hand there is a falsified interpretation of the experience and achievements of existing socialism, the opportunistic ideology of "democratic socialism," the limited nature of the socio-political program of social reforms, and slogans of so-called "new internationalism." Contemporary social-democracy objectively serves to divert the worker movement away from revolutionary struggle.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Ya. G. Fogeler discussed certain aspects of the ideology of the "Green" movement. He showed its origins and analyzed its relationships with other political movements. He characterized the "Greens'" platform as an ideological expression of one of the nonproletarian protest movements against the most reactionary manifestations of imperialism and identified its main features as: criticism of both capitalism and existing socialism; claims to formulating some "third way" of social development; rejection of the role of the working class and absolutization of the role of the middle strata; rejection of social revolution; utopianism and rejection of scientific socialism; attempts to rationalize the harm of developing big industries and technical progress and the need to return to small- and medium-scale production; rejection of centralized political systems and parliamentary representation; advocacy of so-called "basic," "grass-roots" democracy, etc. At the same time, Fogeler stressed, the political vanguard of the working class should use the "Greens'" criticism of imperialism to draw them into the struggle against capitalism.

Candidate of Historical Sciences L. P. Borisov examined the essence of anti-communist falsifications of the new type of international relations, emphasizing that they are self-serving, contradictory and eclectic. He noted that the anticommunists target their main attacks against the socialist community, distorting relations among states within the CMEA and Warsaw Treaty framework. The enemies of existing socialism assiduously propagate allegations regarding "unequal relations" within those organizations, accusing the Soviet Union of "hegemonism" and "dominating" the countries of Eastern Europe. Attempts are made, for example, to use false theories of "limited sovereignty" to prove that national and international interests within the world socialist system are allegedly incompatible.

An objective analysis shows that the international relations developing within the framework of the socialist community and the world socialist system as a whole are a fundamentally new type of international relations based on social-

ist internationalism, which means the strict, unswerving observance of the principles of equality, respect of sovereignty, mutual benefit, comradely cooperation, and mutual assistance among countries.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences M. N. Molodtsova noted the need to intensify resistance to the ideological subversion of imperialism, step up counter-propaganda, and raise the vigilance of Soviet people, their consciousness and communist ideological mentality.

A. A. Milokhin analyzed some problems of the ideological struggle in Africa in connection with the spread of national-reformism there. The influence of Western reformism accelerated the evolution of a specifically national variant of reformist ideology, African "democratic socialism." This movement established itself organizationally with the formation in February 1981 of the African Socialist International (ASI). The political parties associated in the ASI oppose the democratic forces and progressive regimes and prevent the penetration of the ideas of scientific socialism into Africa. The ASI platform is a derivative of the ideological and political doctrines of Western social-democracy and is characterized by rejection of class struggle, adherence to the concept of "democratic socialism," the preaching of social partnership, and apologia of the capitalist road of development. There are, however, some peculiar features: certain anti-imperialistic, nationalistic trends, a positive, albeit inconsistent, attitude towards the nonaligned movement, a peculiar interpretation of the question of the nature of relations forming between the newly liberated countries and imperialist powers, and others. While offering a principled evaluation of social-reformism in Africa as a variant of right-wing opportunist ideology and policy, the vanguard parties of the working people in the newly liberated countries nevertheless see real opportunities for cooperating with the ASI in matters of preventing nuclear war, the creation of nuclear-free zones in Africa, liquidation of the racist regime in South Africa, and the liberation of Namibia.

The conference was also addressed by Prof. N. I. Dryakhlov, doctor of philosophical sciences; Docent Ye. T. Sharapova, candidate of philosophical sciences; Prof. V. K. Popov, doctor of historical sciences; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences B. A. Shuvalov, and A. D. Selyukov.

The results of the conference's deliberations were summed up in a concluding address by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Ye. S. Troitskiy, chairman of the section for critique of contemporary bourgeois ideology of the Moscow Division, USSR Philosophical Society.

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## NATIONAL

### CONFERENCE ON CONTEMPORARY VILLAGE REPORTED

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 3, May-Jun 84 (signed to press 17 May 84) pp 136-138

[Report by Docent A. A. Bondarenko, candidate of philosophical sciences, and Docent I. S. Panchenko, candidate of philosophical sciences, in the "Scientific Life" section: "Social Development of the Contemporary Village"]

[Text] In 1983, a scientific conference, "Social Aspects of the Agrarian Policy of the CPSU," was held in Leningrad. It was sponsored by the chairs of scientific communism of several of the city's higher educational institutions: the shipbuilding and agricultural institutes, the Pedagogical Institute imeni Gertsen, and Leningrad University. The scientific cooperation between the chairs of scientific communism of these institutes of higher learning provides for the elaboration of such topical problems of rural development as way of life, population patterns, customs and mores, the psychology and sociology of work collectives, attitudes towards work, migration and reproduction of manpower, and others. These problems were discussed at this conference, which was also attended by scientists from Moscow, Novgorod, Velikiye Luki, Vologda and other cities of our country.

The speakers concentrated on problems associated with the development of the Nechernozem zone of the RSFSR. Prof. P. I. Simush stressed in his report that the Nechernozem zone offered an example of the main trends in the changing social aspect of the countryside. The development of the rural production sphere and the socio-domestic and transport infrastructure is taking place at a time when the interests of individual production collectives (collective and state farms) are closely intertwined with those of the given rural community as a whole, which encompasses a number of rural settlements. This program also creates prerequisites for bringing closer the spheres of application of labor in urban and rural localities. The interrelated development of town and country is a qualitatively new process, which assumes reciprocating migration of the population, with rural dwellers constantly traveling to work in the cities. We must now, the speaker said, think about how to create the best conditions for expanding the sphere of employment of rural inhabitants. At present the population distribution is in many respects archaic and isolated. Thus, 60 percent of villages have fewer than 100 inhabitants. Yet opting for concentration alone would be wrong, because agriculture itself, the specifics

of land use, requires a certain dispersal of the population. In Simush's view, small communities should remain in future. But there arises the important problem of improving the way of life in them, which is closely associated with developing the road network and intensive transportation, which thus acquires profound social meaning.

Prof. V. I. Staroverov (Institute of Sociological Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences) spoke of specific features of development of the Nechernozem zone of the RSFSR. The rural Nechernozem region, he said, helped us build up cities and expand industry. Minimal funds were invested in the region, which resulted in a certain lag behind economic requirements. This has now become an acute problem. The manpower resources of the region's agriculture are inadequate, there is a certain obsolescence of the material and technical base, and the intensity of migration is declining slowly. True, Staroverov noted, the literature sometimes speaks of a slowing down of the rate of migration from the villages to the towns. However, the flow has declined because of a decline in the population group most likely to migrate: the able-bodied population, especially young and mature people. At present there are some 13 to 13.5 million rural inhabitants in the Nechernozem region. However, many of them cannot be classified as agricultural workers. Staroverov drew attention to the aging of the rural population of the Nechernozem region over the past 20 or 25 years. This aging is a consequence not only of longer life expectancy, but also of the movement of young people to the cities. As a consequence, aging of the population in the Nechernozem region is proceeding faster than in other oblasts of the Russian Federation, and at a considerably higher rate than in Central Asia and Transcaucasia. The speaker stressed that measures being implemented in the framework of the Soviet Union's Food Program give hope that the acuteness of the problems of social development of the countryside, including the Nechernozem zone of the RSFSR, will be alleviated, disproportions in the structure of the agro-industrial complex will be eliminated, and the rate of change in the area will be accelerated.

Much attention at the conference was devoted to the problem of development of the human factor, which is the basis of the operation of the agricultural complex and of implementing the country's Food Program. Docent A. V. Vorontsov (Leningrad Pedagogical Institute) analyzed the changes in the sex and age structure of the population, noting that between the 1970 and 1979 national censuses the rural population in the 20 to 29 age bracket increased. This is a gratifying trend, since by 1990 these people will be agricultural workers of median age. However, the sex and age structure of this group of the population should be under the continued scrutiny of the appropriate agencies and organizations so as to create favorable conditions for its further improvement.

Another problem that remains acute is that of middle-echelon managerial personnel: sector supervisors, team leaders, farm managers. Only 41 percent of these positions are held by agricultural specialists. Another acute problem is that of machine operators, among whom turnover is high.

Docent I. S. Panchenko (Leningrad Agricultural Institute) considered social factors in the growth of labor productivity in agriculture. He drew attention to the fact that the literature treated problems of raising labor productivity mainly from the economic point of view and that questions regarding the impact of social factors on labor productivity in agriculture were only just beginning to be raised.

Panchenko's paper devoted special attention to the influence of socialist labor discipline on the growth of productivity. Strengthening socialist labor discipline, he said, is an important law of socialist construction. V. I. Lenin stressed that "the main difficulty for socialism is assuring labor discipline" (V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 36, p 261). Socialist labor discipline is such a form of organization of labor which helps to save working time and increase free time. In present-day production conditions, the growing importance of labor discipline is rooted in technological, socio-economic, political and ideological factors. Agricultural work is becoming increasingly industrial in character. Accordingly, labor discipline in agriculture must rise to the level of discipline in industry. For its part, in the conditions of agro-industrial integration labor discipline in industry should increasingly influence work in agriculture. It is worth noting, for example, that labor discipline is higher in those enterprises where specialization and integration is higher. They have more participants in the socialist emulation movement and more communist labor teams. Socialist emulation covers new indicators, such as participation in technical innovation, raising the machine shift coefficient, etc.

Of considerable significance for strengthening labor discipline, the speaker noted, is the introduction of team forms of labor organization, in which indicators of economic activity are, as a rule, above average.

The necessity of raising discipline is emphasized by the higher cost of lost time in the conditions of production specialization and concentration. Since considerable time loss is due to personnel turnover and the need for workers to adjust to new jobs, it would be useful, in the speaker's opinion, to set up a system of rural job placement offices.

Panchenko spoke of the need for more efficient utilization of machinery. Thus, having machine operators work in two shifts "condenses" work time, reduces inefficient machine downtime, increases daily productivity, and creates better conditions for the work and rest of rural machine operators, approaching the working conditions of urban workers.

Speaking of personnel problems, Panchenko noted that it was necessary to double or triple the training of skilled workers, otherwise increasing machinery supplies, which boosts the capital-labor ratio, will not result in higher efficiency of agricultural production.

It is essential, Panchenko said, to achieve a qualitative improvement in public services in the countryside. However, the development of the nonproductive sphere doesn't always take into account the specifics of agriculture and the rural way of life.



Specialization and concentration of production in the countryside, Panchenko noted in conclusion, contributes to the reduction of the agricultural population as a whole and its growth in areas of intensive agricultural development, while the socialization of production and labor contributes to the development of agro-industrial conglomerates. In this connection, Panchenko voiced the proposition that overcoming the differences between town and country leads not to "absorption of the village by the city" but to their merger into a new quality. Currently migration from the country to the city predominates, but there has already appeared, albeit weakly, a reverse trend of migration from the city to the village. In future, in Panchenko's view, it will expand together with the specialization and cooperation of agricultural production and agro-industrial integration. He declared the most promising form of integration of industry and agriculture to be suburban agro-industrial complexes in which workers of agriculture and industrial enterprises are employed as a single productive force which, naturally, leads to a change in the whole structure of agricultural activity.

Docent A. A. Bondarenko (Leningrad Shipbuilding Institute) spoke of spiritual life as a factor in improving the rural way of life. He examined spiritual life not only from the point of view of satisfying certain requirements, assimilating them and acquiring certain cultural values, but also from the point of view of actively contributing to the creation of new examples of cultural values in which man is involved as the subject of spiritual culture. Citing a large volume of factual material, he showed the positive trends characterizing the spiritual life of the Soviet countryside and identified a series of factors contributing to the upgrading of the rural way of life. His paper examined the most topical problems of spiritual life, which are having an ever greater impact on the fulfillment of the Food Program of the USSR.

Prof. D. Z. Mutagirov (Leningrad University) dwelt on the connection between the problems being discussed and that of overcoming differences between the city and the village. The leading element in this process is the transformation of agricultural work into a variety of industrial work. Industrialization of agriculture occurs with the direct participation of the working class and is a manifestation of its leading role.

The conference discussed demographic problems of the village, questions of manpower retention, and professional orientation of rural schoolchildren. V.B.Mikhailov, an associate of the laboratory of economic and social planning of the Leningrad Agricultural Institute, and V. V. Karpova, instructor of the chair of scientific communism, noted that professional orientation yields fruit wherever schools proceed from the need to more extensively involve children in actual production processes while they are still involved in the educational process. They drew attention to the fact that the higher developed an oblast is economically, socially and culturally, the lower the professional orientation of schoolchildren on agriculture. Thus, in Leningrad Oblast the professional orientation of rural schoolchildren towards village life is the lowest in the RSFSR.

Youth is the village's future, A. A. Khar'kov (Leningrad Agricultural Institute, V. M. Alekseyeva (Leningrad University), T. V. Zakharova (Leningrad Agricultural Institute), and others stressed in their contributions. High educational standards and professional qualifications and skills enable them to participate actively in the implementation of the Food Program. Its successful implementation in many ways depends on young people and their devotion to the land. Those who are now going to school will have to solve the complex problems of the coming 21st century.

The conference participants discussed the questions raised in the contributions.

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## NATIONAL

### EMERGENCY FUND SET UP TO AID CHILDREN OF DIVORCED PARENTS

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 16, 18 Apr 84 p 13

[Article under the rubric "Completion of a Topic": "Alimony Fund: A Decision Has Been Made."

[Text] On 6 February 1984 the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree "Instituting Temporary Assistance to Minor Children while Their Parents Who Have Evaded Making Alimony Payments Are Being Sought."

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA three times in the last year came to the defense of minor children whose fathers maliciously shirk their most basic fatherly obligations-paying alimony.

"..How can mothers be spared the degrading necessity of having to push for the execution of court decisions themselves? What radical measures can be proposed to resolve this important social problem? (L. Velikanova, "Runaway Father," LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 23, 1983).

"Isn't it time, in fact, to think about changing the system of payment to children of money to which they are entitled? As far as runaway fathers are concerned, there are dozens of ways of getting from them everything that has been decreed without degrading the woman, and mother, and also of keeping constantly in mind that material help for the children is now a concern for the whole society." (I. Bestuzhev-Lada, "Mothers Aren't Alone!" LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 37, 1983).

"The overwhelming majority of those who 'take to the pen' consider that each mother whose former husband is now 'on the run' should have as a minimum the right to 20 rubles paid immediately to children born out of wedlock and the state itself should get the money from the 'runaway fathers.' This would help the mothers' situation alot." (L. Velikanova, "Daughters-Mothers," LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 48, 1983).

After this last publication another 6 months passed, but letters under the heading "Runaway Fathers" keep coming. Readers have been asking whether any kind of measures will be taken as a result of the articles in the paper.

A decree of the USSR Council of Ministers was forthcoming. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer L. Velikanova requested that G.P. Baturov, a member of the board of the USSR Ministry of Justice, explain it in as much detail as possible. He reported:

The decree of the USSR Council of Ministers was issued in order to improve the material well-being of children whose parents are being sought by internal affairs agencies in connection with the evasion of alimony payments. Item one of the decree is formulated in the following manner: "Temporary aid is to be instituted for minor children whose parents according to the determination of the courts are being sought by internal affairs agencies in connection with the evasion of alimony payments."

The amount of aid has been established: for one child--20 rubles, for two children--30 rubles, for three children--40 rubles, and for four or more children--50 rubles per month. Social services agencies of the union republics will pay the aid.

At whose expense are the payments made? In the first instance, naturally, the aid will come from the money sought from parents who evade alimony payments. Those parents must return to the state the aid funds paid while they were being sought plus 10 percent. In the second instance the aid will come from deductions of 50 percent from state taxes which courts and ZAGS (Citizen Status Registry) collect for the dissolution of marriages.

In order to partially cover the costs of paying the new aid, it has been decided to raise the minimum tax for this to 100 rubles.

Now, if a marriage is dissolved by ZAGS with the joint agreement of the principals who have no minor children, the tax collected will be 100 rubles; based on the decision of the court the tax can range from 100 rubles to 200 rubles (from one or both of the parties).

USSR Gosbank will open a special account intended for the accumulation and transfer of funds for the payment of the aid. The control over the receipt and disbursement of these funds is the responsibility of the USSR Ministry of Finance. The USSR Ministry of Justice is obliged to strengthen its controls so that court decisions about the levying of alimony for children are implemented as quickly as possible. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has been instructed to be more active in seeking out those who evade alimony payments. Thus, mothers will be freed from the humiliating rounds of the departments and from "breaking through" to the authorized money.

Toward the end of this year instructions for the assigning and paying of this aid will be developed and approved; the instructions will also cover the recovery of monies which are paid while the parents are being sought. The instructions will clarify the details of the process.

The payment of aid will begin 1 Jan 85. I repeat: the aid will be given only until the 'runaway' is found and forced to pay, himself."

8750

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## NATIONAL

### WRITERS UNION BOARD CITES WEAKNESSES IN NOVYY MIR

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Jun 84 p 2

[Article: "Requirements of the Times: Meeting of the Secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union Board" ]

[Text] Fifty years ago at the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers, A.M. Gorkiy spoke of literature as a process performed collectively with mutual responsibility for each other's work and having a responsibility to the reader. These words of Gorkiy have been convincingly confirmed in the decades that have passed. The direct and interested participation of writers in everything that their union is engaged in constitutes one of the significant features determining the style of the multi-faceted work of the country's writers' organization.

The creative reports of literary journals at meetings of the board's secretariat of the USSR Writers Union have long become a fruitful tradition. Here collectively, with the inevitable broad participation of the community, the work of editorial offices is analyzed. The purpose of such professional discussion is to reveal the potential possibilities of press organs, to support their long-term search, to outline ways of further raising the ideological and artistic level and in the final analysis to strengthen the influence of periodicals on the course of the literary process. The positive experience acquired by the given journal and its achievements and findings are important for other publications just as its failures, committed oversights are instructive for everyone and as valuable as the advice, recommendations and wishes given by the participants of the discussion.

And this time the conference hall of the USSR Writers Union was attended by well-known prose writers, publicists, poets, critics and representatives of the press and publishing houses to discuss together the work of the journal NOVYY MIR.

A high note of responsibility before the times and high standards set the mood and atmosphere of the discussion that ensued.

The discussion was serious, constructive and with well-meaning high expectations. This in large measure predetermined the address of the

publication's chief editor V. Karpov, who basically concentrated on existing problems and on those tasks which the journal had the responsibility of solving today.

The comradely, concerned discussion, which included a detailed and serious analysis of different aspects of the journal's work, an acknowledgment of the merits of many NOVYY MIR publications, along with critical comments and concrete proposals, was aimed at helping the collective attain new gains in its work.

It is perfectly clear that the discussion of this or that periodical publication of the USSR Writers Union -- individual works appearing on its pages, or entire sections; the general trends of change in prose, poetry, journalism, plays and criticism -- must be conducted in line with those requirements that the party makes today with regard to literature. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On The Creative Ties of Literary Journals with the Practice of Building Communism" has become a long-term program of action for all press organs of the Writers Union. Speakers in their statements referred to this decree and to other party documents.

The speakers pointed out that the journal's editorial office has carried out a specific effort concerning the fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. The journal's collective and its authors' activities are guided by the decisions of the Extraordinary February and the April (1984) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the conclusions and positions stemming from speeches of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade K.U. Chernenko.

Recently, a number of works have been published attesting to the active civic position of NOVYY MIR and its desire to be at the center of events which the country is undergoing, as well as works contributing to the formation of the spiritual world of the person of today and to his ideological and moral growth. A review of the journal's issues for the past two plus years shows that, as V. Telpugov, A. Chakovskiy, G. Borovik, Ye. Sidorov and others emphasized in their speeches, that success comes to those things which are aimed at the artistic investigation of the leading trends in social development and the profound events in life, as well as to those works in which major, memorable and wholesome characters are presented.

Significant works, which differ as to subject matter, genre and uniqueness of individual style have appeared in prose. A prominent place here on the threshold of the 40th anniversary of our Victory is occupied by the theme of the Great Patriotic War. In the documentary stories of A. Kron "Kapitan dal'nego plavaniya" [The Far-sailing Captain] and V. Karpov "Polkovodets" [The Commander], important events of the war years are recreated and significant characters are depicted. Remembrance of the great achievement is heard in stories by D. Granin "Yeshche zameten sled" [A Trace Is Still Visible] and by Ye. Rzhevskaya "Voroshenny zhar" [Stirred Embers].

An artist's ardent penetration into the very essence of reality is to be found in a novel by A. Ananyev "Gody bez voyny" [Warless Years], which describes on the many levels the life of contemporary Soviet society.

A. Prokhanov's political narrative, "V ostovakh okhotnik" [A Hunter in the Islands] (a Kampuchean account) also provides a clear and concise author's view, as does a story by A. Sakhnin "Neotvratimost'" [Inevitability]. The day-to-day working life of the people is being covered in the stories "Brigada" [The Brigade] by Yu. Chernyakov, "Liniya" [The Line] by A. Belaya and "Nebo" [The Sky] by V. Khayryuzov. Spiritual and moral problems of the present day are investigated in the novels "Chas sud'by" [The Fateful Hour], by V. Bubnis, "Iz zhizni Potapova" [From the Life of Potapov] by S. Ivanov and "Tridtsat' i shest'" [Thirty and Six] by A. Rekhemchuk.

The journal's pages have included such works as "Mgnoveniya" [Instants] by Yu. Bondarev, "Yunosheskiy roman..." [A Young Romance] by V. Katayev, "Verlioka" [Verlioka] by V. Kaverin, stories by F. Abramov and "Boldinskiy svet" [The Boldinskiy Light] by Yu. Nagibin.

At the same time, the board's secretariat directed the attention of the editorial board of NOVYY MIR that the journal still did not have enough artistically profound large-scale works that clearly reveal the vital problems of the people's life. There is a lack of memorable and positive modern heroes in prose; lack of people with progressive social convictions, who are socially active, who have a rich spiritual and emotional world. The work of creating such figures constitutes an urgent creative task of the authors' aktiv and the editorial board of NOVYY MIR.

The thought that the editorial board should be more demanding in its work with manuscripts was contained in the statements of many of the speakers. A number of works were published, provoking justifiable criticism. The works have been descriptive and base, dealing with insignificant and petty mundane situations ("Gorodskoy peyzazh" [City Landscape] by G. Semenov), primarily concentrated on negative happenings ("Univermag" [Department Store] by I. Shtemler), sometimes lacked ethical tact in the revelation of dramatic collisions ("Terpeniye" [Patience] by Yu. Nagibin). The lack of clarity and consistency in some works results in having mundane aspects of life in the forefront, while enthusiasm for work and for the social aspects of the people's struggle for the building of a new society is not communicated.

Analyzing the prose of NOVYY MIR, M. Sinelnikov and others compared works published by the journal with the general tendencies of contemporary Soviet literature. As reflected in these works, time, reality, the chief problems of daily life, its anxieties and concerns and the ideas of patriotism so formidably executed in them, civic spirit and internationalism--these questions were at the center of attention as well in examination of the journal's poetic publications. Speakers stated that it is necessary to develop and strengthen traditions and not to lower the exalted "poetic springboard" of the journal. Civic spirit distinguishes the poem "Mama i neytronnaya bomba" [Mama and the Neutron Bomb] by Ye. Yevtushenko, "Smertnyy grekh" [Mortal Sin] by G. Shergovoy and "Zhiguli, moi vy Zhiguli" [Zhigulis,

You Zhigulis Are Mine]. A view on the present day is seen in the "Bol'shaya rodina" [The Motherland's Expanse] by A. Prelovski, the poetry of I. Abashidze, P. Botsu, K. Vanshenkin, Ye. Vinokurov, A. Voznesenskiy, R. Gamzatov, K. Kaladze, N. Kondakova, A. Mezhirov, M. L'vov, R. Rozhdestvenskiy, D. Samoylov, V. Sokolov, B. Slutskiy; the fables of S. Mikhalkov.

But, as V. Dementyev, Ye. Isayev and others have stressed, the poetry column of NOVYY MIR at times contains shallow, relatively meaningless and poorly done poems (L. Dymova, N. Zaytseva, L. Grigoryeva and others). We should use greater discrimination in putting together collective selections. One frequently encounters drab, vapid, unoriginal poems in them. In the comments, the question was sharply raised of the need for professional standards in regard to quality, and the need to upgrade the ideological, artistic and esthetic criteria.

Writings on current affairs are broadly and diversely presented on the pages of NOVYY MIR. V. Povolyayev and others referred to this in their comments.

Materials of the sections "Essays on Current Life," "On Foreign Themes" and "In the World of Science" deal with the most important problems of the present day.

Articles and studies by F. Burlatskiy, E. Genri, A. Ovcharenko, V. Ovchinnikov and discussions of G. Arbatov and V. Kobyshev deal with pertinent themes of the struggle for peace and denunciation of capitalist society. It was emphasized at the meeting that under the present exacerbated state of the international situation we should strive for still greater depth and effectiveness of counter propaganda materials for the purpose of actively defending the rightness of our ideals and the cause of peace.

The country today and developmental prospects of the economy, science and culture are illuminated in publicistic articles by Ya. Golovanov, A. Levikov, Yu. Vigor, A. Udaltsov, V. Osipov, F. Novikov and others.

In a spirit of well-meaning constructive comments that distinguished the discussion at the meeting, speakers stated that the section on current affairs was in need of further improvement.

The patronage connection of NOVYY MIR with KamAZ [Kama Motor Vehicle Plant] has continued for more than 10 years. Various materials on the workers of the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant, making up three books of articles, have been regularly printed on the pages of the journal, and the story by F. Vidrashku "Naberezhnaya Nadezhdy" [The Quay of Hope] was published. But of late patronage work has slackened, which cannot but help affect the contents of the journal. The speakers emphasized in their comments that the editorial board should as soon as possible intensify the work of cooperation with labor collectives. Resident literary posts, constant trips to five-year plan construction projects undoubtedly expand the problematic and thematic range of writing on current affairs, improve its effectiveness and will help display in their full stature the real heroes of our times--the working people.



Many of the comments at the meeting of the board's secretariat dealt with the state of literary criticism in the journal.

Topical problems of socialist realism relating to the artistic practices of Soviet multinational literature were examined in articles published on the pages of NOVYY MIR by F. Kuznetsov, V. Novikova, A. Lazarev, A. Bocharov, V. Baranov, I. Dedkov, M. Sinel'nikov, U. Gural'nik and V. Piskunov. Reactions to new prose, poetry, writing on current affairs, criticism and studies of literature are systematically published in the review section.

V. Kovskiy and others stated that more attention should be paid to variety in literary and critical genres and of publication of "round-table" discussions, dialogs, readers' letters and so on. Attention was also drawn to the fact that while the general tone of criticism of NOVYY MIR is free of gratuitous compliments, nevertheless some reviews, especially short ones, frequently provide exaggerated evaluations. The group of critics involved in collaboration with the journal is insufficiently broad.

S. Baruzdin, while noting that few authors from Union republics are printed on the pages of NOVYY MIR, pointed out that even problem-solving articles, generalizing the experience of Soviet multinational literature and the experience of mutual influence and mutual enrichment of the literatures of the peoples of the USSR, also appear rarely. In S. Sartakov's opinion, the same thing could be said concerning publication of works by authors from the fraternal socialist countries, as well as materials dealing with these literatures.

Speakers expressed the wish to see articles of a methodological character, as well as analytical surveys printed more frequently, revealing both the achievements and the weak sides of the literary process.

Examining the main directions of the work of the criticism section, V. Ozerov stressed that in a publication such as NOVYY MIR more materials should appear that tie-in literature and life; articles are needed with a broad outlook on the process of artistic development as a whole, taking into consideration achievements not only of literature but also of the theater, cinema and television. And the third point which the speaker stressed: "NOVYY MIR," he said, "possesses all the means to conduct critical annual surveys."

Summarizing the results of the discussion, G. Markov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Writers Union, who chaired the meeting, emphasized that it had been useful not only for NOVYY MIR. The wide range of questions outlined by the speakers also applies to other literary publications and all literary workers. The discussion took the form of thoughts on important problems of the contemporary literary process. Of course, G. Markov noted, journals reflect the objective state of affairs in literature and its specific level. But journals are the explorers of the new. They are responsible for disclosing new phenomena, and that requires creative courage. In the elaboration of new themes, take risks, but naturally the risks should be well thought out and responsible. It is necessary, the speaker further said, to involve new authors and young talents. The just completed Eighth All-Union

Conference of Young Writers convincingly demonstrated that such talents exist. In conclusion, G. Markov said:

"Big things are needed in keeping with the spirit of the times, the scale of the times and the requirements of the times. Our journals need to be raised to a new level."

In a resolution adopted at the meeting of the secretariat of the board of the USSR Writers Union, it states that the most important task of the journal NOVYY MIR is to focus attention on the essential questions of the internal and foreign policy of our country and on the basic directions of social-economic and cultural development of Soviet society at the present stage. The editorial board of NOVYY MIR should direct the creative efforts of authors toward the development of the positive hero image in works of all genres, as well as the depiction of true and multifaceted contemporary personages.

A.A. Belyayev, deputy chief of the Culture Department of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the work of the conference.

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CSO: 1800/439

'VULGARITY' OF SOVIET POP MUSIC ASSAILED

Vocal Ensembles Critiqued

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 84 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Morozov, composer and holder of the Leninist Komsomol Prize (Leningrad): "Songs Help Us To Build and To Live, But How Do We Help Them?"]

[Text] There is an audience of millions for songs in our country. People often say that the people of our country read more than anyone else in the world, but they also sing more. "We love to sing and laugh like children".... And this is a fact. This is why the composer, the lyricist, the performer and all the people who are involved in any way in the fate of a song have a great responsibility for its quality and morality, for its glorious or inglorious (and there are such cases) life. We are responsible for the ideological content and popularity of songs. But what could we say, for example, about the following lyrics:

Of course, the girl is glad  
That her pants are so tight.  
She is tickled by glances  
Below the waist.

You will say, of course, that these lyrics are not only ignorant, they are vulgar and indicate a lack of elementary taste and tact. But who would sing a song like this.... Who sings it? The "Primus" group.... Just consider how many of these garden-variety groups have sprung up spontaneously--each a star in its own tiny sky! Each craves applause, a public and festivals. I must say that I am not against amateur groups in general. The best of them deserve festivals and acclaim. It must be said that Komsomol committees have recently taken a great interest in young singers and that anything worthy of notice has been noticed.

As PRAVDA recently commented, the professional level of today's variety performers and the quality of their repertoire require persistent and skillful guidance. This is exactly what we were told from the supreme party rostrum of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. We were told about the unsatisfactory state of the popular music genre and about some recent programs of dubious merit. Soon afterward, cultural agencies announced that groups

throughout the country would be auditioned for the purpose of raising their professional standards, and this turned out to be a timely and necessary undertaking. But we still cannot be fully satisfied.... And how could we be, when we hear something like this:

I was bored but I thought of a way to amuse myself.  
I started to look for people who look like bears.

Yes, this song is also sung by an amateur group with the unnecessarily frivolous name "Picnic."

When performers on the stage start singing these songs, you wonder where these "singers" came from and where they are going. And you wonder why they are giving our young people a taste for songs like these.

And there is something else: the style and standards of their performance. Typically, the more unprofessional the group is, the less appealing its repertoire will be and the more wild and exuberant the performance will be. Singers and musicians turn themselves inside out just to seem original. This originality leads to dissolute behavior and simian antics on stage and even to the outrageous abuse of audiences. In this way, the genre of the song is also severely abused.

Another dangerous aspect is that the music "superimposed" on the vulgar lyrics is sometimes quite interesting and even what some people call catchy. There is an obvious disparity between the artistic levels of the text and music. Although the music sometimes includes an abundance of insipid refrains, it is generally more or less professional and can even compete with many Western tunes (perhaps because God only knows how professional those are), but the lyrics are frequently miserable and absolutely feeble.

Obviously, someone has to work with these groups--laboriously and purposefully--and only then will completely different works, the kind our young people need, appear, such as, for example, the best songs of the "Tambourine" group of the Leningrad Folk Art Center.

A series of television programs with some of our leading composers, such as Pakhmutov, Tukhmanov, Rybinkov, Artem'yev and Antonov, and the most popular young professional and amateur groups could be of the greatest benefit! They could expose the shoddy imitations and demonstrate the worthlessness of the groups which do not even have the right to call themselves ensembles. They could refute what is "bad" and demonstrate what is "good," thereby cultivating taste--this is what must be done. And this is not only a job for television; the youth press has not discussed this subject much thus far, and cultural establishments and Komsomol organizations have not been exacting or helpful enough. Until all of this is done, we will continue to hear songs like the ones "sung" by the group from Ufa with the challenging "chemical" name "DDT":

A rainbow hung in the sky  
With a sow sitting on it  
And looking at everything from on high  
With a nightingale's eye.

But even these exercises in stupidity pale and sound like childish prattle in comparison to the following words, which have been propagandized by the "Zoo" group:

And we all need someone  
To torture,  
Cripple or even kill....

I did not use the word "propagandize" by accident. Songs teach us, and at the very least a bad song teaches bad taste. We must all remember this.

Today the song--the lyrical, popular or folk song--needs help. Apparently, the time has come to do this in earnest, to "prescribe" classes in the conservatory for this purpose, to teach composers how to write songs and to turn them into the backbone of the Soviet pop music of the future. So many talented young people would respond! Many of us would like to learn from the people whose songs have become the classics of Soviet pop music.

Each professional composer knows how difficult it is to bring a song to life, how exacting artistic councils can be, and how often a song has to be changed and perfected. But the "songs" which are taped by rule-of-thumb methods, without any control, are put out by the thousands, are distributed by airplane and within just a few weeks become the "property" of the millions of people who go to discotheques. According to the data of some discos in Moscow and Leningrad, for example, only two or three of the ten most popular songs have been heard and approved by professional musicians. The rest might be called "illegitimate." Ideologists are disturbed by the possible cultivation of dubious principles, or even ones that are absolutely alien to us, in the young masses.

Apparently, we need a single central artistic council, made up of the best and most popular young composers and lyricists, to oversee everything played in discos. The Komsomol can and must render the most effective assistance in this matter.

I was motivated to take up my pen by two events. The first was a political song festival in the CSSR, from which I recently returned with the "Forum" group, and the second was an antiwar rally organized not long ago by the Leningrad Palace of Youth. Both were carefully organized and directed programs and both included singing groups. There were film clips, slogans, slides and newsreels on the revival of militarism, serving as the background for impassioned music, pulsating with emotion, and for speeches by veterans and by widows--I wish you could have seen the faces of the young Czechs, Slovaks and our Soviet young men and women during these minutes! They chanted angry words of protest, they were moved by common emotions, and there was not a single passive person in the crowd! This is the power of the real song, music dedicated to a noble ideal. Let us therefore protect our Soviet youth's songs and fight with vigor against the hack-writing and pulp lyrics that often smack of alien ideals!

## Readers' Responses to Article

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 84 p 4

[Responses to article by A. Morozov from various readers: "Which Songs Are You on Friendly Terms With?"]

[Text] The party sets the Komsomol serious tasks in the moral and aesthetic education of youth. Composer A. Morozov said in his article "Songs Help Us To Build and To Live..." that some amateur groups are not exacting enough when it comes to the content of songs, and he discussed their lack of taste and inability to behave properly on stage. He said that inferior songs abuse our ears, have a negative effect on us and propagandize vulgarity. Our readers responded to this article. Today we are publishing some of their letters.

### Is It Only a Fad?

Our domestic stage is performing a great and necessary function by bringing art to the masses. For this we are deeply grateful to it! Unfortunately, however, the variety stage is not always exacting or discriminating enough. It would be difficult to say if this is a matter of fascination with new things, the desire for large box-office receipts and "sold-out" notices or the haste and bustle of everyday life, but the fact remains that our stages, in addition to popularizing good music and totally worthwhile songs, sometimes offer audiences extremely mediocre fare and weak performers, and sometimes it is simply a matter of hack-performers singing hack-songs.

Incidentally, I would like to say a few words about the use of microphones by performers. Microphones are needed in large auditoriums and on large stages, but there are limits. Often the defenseless audience is attacked by such a squall of noise that appreciation of the music is out of the question. The audience is deafened! It is no wonder that members of the older generation who attend these performances are using the slang term "crazed." It is true that the performances of some groups are "crazed."

There is a simple explanation, however, for this misuse of volume. Some performers try to camouflage or make up for their lack of professional skill and for the weakness of their songs by turning up the volume. And it is true that the deafened listener will not notice the fine points of the performance. Volume is usually misused by the premature singing groups that tour local resorts or "remote" regions in general, the same groups that "spring up like mushrooms after the rain."

Yu. Kotlyar, writer, Staryy Krym

### Tasteless Song About a Hippopotamus

I agree completely with the author of the article that anyone involved in the fate of a song is responsible for its content, morality and ideological import.

Many of my friends have several tapes of amateur groups, and the content of many songs is vulgar and insipid.

But how do these groups get on the stage? After all, many concerts are taped right in the auditorium. Why does the management of the auditorium pay no attention to the ideological content of song lyrics? After all, many of them are later distributed and performed by other groups (local groups in parks, restaurants and academic institutions). In our city, for example, a song with extremely stupid lyrics is performed in our cultural park:

A hippopotamus has no waistline  
And he cannot dance.  
A giraffe has a long neck  
And he cannot be kissed.  
A walrus has prickly whiskers  
And he often walks barefoot....

"Songs" like these are performed for a young audience. This bad taste will ultimately affect the general cultural level of adolescents and their morals.

Natasha K., student at the Altay State Institute of Culture

Whose Voices Are They Imitating?

I recently heard an amateur orchestra perform in Novosibirsk.

The music and lyrics were accompanied, as is usually the case in all professional and amateur groups, by noise and roaring, but the repertoire...?!

They sang a song: "Nothing in front of me, a void behind me, and something like a cat in a sack in between."

Funny? I think it is outrageous.

Some pop groups have completely adopted the "foreign" style of performance and behavior. And all of this is called the "contemporary" style of performance and behavior. In fact, however, this is the forcible cultivation of an ideology alien to us, a way of life alien to us. Furthermore, as a rule the repertoire is exactly the same in amateur groups as in professional ones.

Art should serve the party and should bring culture, and not cultural deficiency, to the masses!

G. Batsenyuk, Novosibirsk

Preoccupation with Trouble

In many respects I agree with A. Morozov's opinions of the Leningrad "Picnic" and "Zoo" groups. Their "pessimism" is an artificial preoccupation with trouble. I hope that when the Leningrad Rock Club is opened, truly talented groups will take the right stand and find the right subject matter, and not shock their "fans" with reverse snobbism. I agree with the author that our

amateur groups (and even professional ones) need help. Serious and meaningful criticism of various aspects of the pop style is needed.

Aleksandr Shemet, Vinnitsa

What Is "Cooking" on the "Primus"?

My 16-year-old son taped a performance by the "Primus" group.

What is the "Primus" group "cooking up"? Coarse and vulgar little songs, obviously written by the group members themselves, and performed by hoarse voices breaking into wild howls--an imitation of Western music.

After all, the songs performed by this group are meant for the young listener. The group praises the so-called "sweet" life--visits to bars and restaurants. Or here, for example, is the content of one song: Some young people start wondering early in the morning where they can get some money to cure their hangovers; after they sober up they begin another nightlong binge; when one young man wakes up the next morning he cannot figure out "who the woman lying next to him is," and so forth.

What right do these "artists" have to pass all of this filth off as a "musical number"? But their repertoire has been taped in a studio and is already making the rounds of Khabarovsk.

I would like to know who supervises the activity of all these groups, how the tapes are made and whether anyone cares about the content of the taped songs.

V. Gavrilova, Khabarovsk

We Need a Television Program

We need a special musical TV program, which will be shown regularly, and not sporadically. But in no case should it be a substitute for "The Morning Mail" and "Melody and Rhythm." This should not be a simple series of concerts, but a program consisting of several different sections. For example, 10 or 15 minutes of discussion about music (this would be the most important part), 10 or 15 minutes of news of the Soviet and foreign stage (this could be something like an ad for "Melody and Rhythm") and, of course, performances.

I think that the structure of the program is a secondary matter, because the main thing is to put it on TV, and then the viewers will assist in settling other matters.

Igor' Korolenko, Kiev

They Are Imitating "Stars"

I feel obligated to thank composer A. Morozov for his criticism of the variety stage.



His proposal of a single central artistic council in our country seems correct to me. This would establish control over the so-called discotheques, some of which have been influenced by the Western stage, with its spirit, content and performance style that are so alien to us.

I must say, however, that all of this also applies to some popular soloists, about whom the author of the article, regrettably, did not say a single word. And it is a pity. Who, if not a famous composer, should direct attention to some of the "stars" of the stage, particularly since the performance style and manner of famous soloists are imitated by novice singers and groups.

A. Gal'tsov, Leningrad

We Are Anxious To See a Competition

I was moved to write this letter by the latest program of the "Going Through Life with a Song" series and the article by composer A. Morozov. Just as any other young person, I am interested in music and singing. The article spoke of the mass spread of songs with inferior content and music by non-professional groups. This is true. But what do professional performers offer us? In the latest "Going Through Life with a Song" competition, the performers were so colorless that it is even hard to remember any of them. And yet this is the only program where we see new performers. When the long-gone "Hello, We Are Looking for Talent!" program enters our thoughts, we immediately remember many good songs and performers. Where are all of them now? Why do we not have a single televised competition for non-professional musicians?

A. Ivanov, Tokmak, Kirghiz SSSR

The reader is interested. This is what we write when articles in our newspaper arouse the attention of our readers. In this case, we can say that the reader is worried about the state of affairs in the world of popular music. Readers agree with the proposal of a single artistic council, which could set high qualitative criteria and bar the way to vulgarity and bad taste. Audiences miss good songs and qualified groups and they are tired of the dissolute and vulgar style that is being imposed on the variety stage by some performers and groups. Some readers also resent the tendency of some groups to perform foreign songs which, in translation, can be compared only to the most inferior garden-variety "folklore."

We await your letters!

8588

CSO: 1800/449

## NATIONAL

### BUCK PASSING ON WHO PAYS RESTORATION OF MOSCOW CHURCH

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 84 p 3

[Article by P. Revyakin, Doctor of Architecture, and P. Tel'tevskiy, Doctor of Art History: "A Sharp Signal to Preserve an Estate-Monument"]

[Text] On the banks of the river Bratovka in the Tushinskiy Rayon of Moscow stands the country estate "Brattsevo," monument of the late eighteenth - early nineteenth centuries (architect - A. N. Voronikhin). The Church of the Shroud (1692), five-domed and richly decorated with tiles, is an integral part of the Novobrattsevskiy architectural-landscape complex. The architect placed it on a high hill, including it organically in the surrounding picturesque landscape.

Specialists have documented the value of the natural landscape in the region of the "Brattsevo" estate. In 1965 a safeguarded zone was worked out and coordinated through regular procedure, which provided for the protection of the unique surrounding landscape. Unfortunately, the protected zone until now has not been approved. As a result, the natural landscape has already partially suffered and is now threatened by ruin.

The future fate of the building itself is a cause for anxiety. The project for its restoration is worked out and approved. To this day, however, the monument stands without a roof.

The matter has become more serious with the frequent change in the estate's tenants. The latest tenant--the Industrial Union of Technical Auto Services of the USSR Ministry of Automotive Transport--put the station "Auto Service" on the estate. For this purpose a general plan was worked out which... they forgot to coordinate with the author of the restoration project.

It is clear even to the uninitiated that stationing out-buildings for technical auto repairs on the territory of a valuable monument is hardly appropriate and can have a ruinous effect on the condition of the architectural object. The Russian SSR Ministry of Culture brought this to the attention of the Moscow Soviet and the Moscow City State Inspection Office for the Protection of Architectural Monuments and Urban Construction.

The situation, however, did not change: the tenant--the Industrial Union of Technical Auto Services--is convinced of its rights.

The architect-restorer is also placed in a difficult situation. The contract drawn up by workshop nr. 1 for carrying out the restoration work was given over to the State Inspection Office for the Protection of Monuments under the Chief Architectural-Planning Department of the Moscow Soviet, which refused to finance it, leaving that possibility with the Auto Service" station. The latter, for its part, does not wish to allot its resources for restoration work.

We remind you once again that this matter concerns a monument which is under State protection. And it is appropriate to mention here statute 21 of the Russian SSR Code concerning the protection of monuments, where it is written that the use of historical and cultural monuments for economic and other purposes is allowed, as long as it is not detrimental to the safety of monuments and does not disturb their historical-artistic value.

And here is what is said about it in the "Regulations for the Protection and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments," resolution nr. 865 of September, 1982, passed by the USSR Council of Ministers: Historical and cultural monuments, used not in accordance with their specific character and purpose, which undergo the threat of destruction and spoiling, may be taken away from enterprises, institutions and organizations.

The specific character of the activities of the current tenant of the seventeenth century monument clearly contradicts the character of the valuable object. We hope that the Church of the Shroud and its territory will be given over to another user, able to ensure its safety and the carrying out of the restoration work.

9931

CSO: 1800/434

NATIONAL

## BLACK MARKET VODKA TRADE OUT OF PRIVATE AUTOS EXPOSED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jun 84 p 2

[Article by A. Lyapustin: "Car Lover in Business"]

[Text] From the reference of an institute teacher, a candidate of technical sciences and a faculty assistant professor:

"Carries out scientific work, participating in state budget or economic treaty analysis. Every year is a curator of student groups. Fulfills his social work in the department and faculty of the institute. Commands authority among students and instructors. Morally steadfast."

From the reference of a shift foreman in a cast-iron shop:

"Has proved himself to be an honest and conscientious worker. Continually engaged in educational work in the collective."

From the reference of a construction engineer from one of the construction bureaus:

"Has shown himself to be a competent specialist. Takes part in streamlining work. Active in social life. A master's candidate of sports in tourism. Morally steadfast in everyday life."

Guess, dear reader, where these references are directed. To the military enlistment office? No, wrong guess. To the tourism council for the registration of passes? To an organization in charge of honorary titles! Yes, I read all these references, witnessed by the signatures of "squares" and authenticated by stamps, in the State Auto Inspection Office.

Do you think that a new procedure for registering automobiles has been introduced and that references are now needed? Not at all. The assistant professor who "commands authority," the teacher of the professional-technical school who is "always exacting of himself," the shift foreman who "wins respect," the "morally steadfast" construction engineer and others presented them to the State Auto Inspection of their own accord. They presented them, of course, not without reason, calculating on getting a "pardon." The point is that all of them were using their cars not as "a means of private

transportation," but as private auto shops. Simply speaking, they drove around in them at night for the purpose of trading in vodka.

No, this will not be a detective story, although there were night-time raids and even chases. For example, after that same "honest and conscientious" shift foreman. There will also be no moralizing directed at the thoughtless "squares" who signed the speculators' references. What, then, are we talking about?

About the loss of human dignity.

This loss did not come about at once or all of a sudden. If we are to believe the speculators, it usually happened like this. At first an automobile was bought. But when the first joy in the purchase passed, the owner discovered that the desired four-wheel dream...was expensive. Gasoline, filter changes, spare parts... But here was some easy money: in the daytime buy some vodka for the regular price--and sell it at night for twice as much. For, to a certain category of people, vodka unfortunately has become a "nightly scarcity." Many of those detained explain the cause for their "incidental" move into business by the expenses incurred for the upkeep of their car. That is how the construction engineer explained it: "I ran out of money for repairs..."

Yes, the purchase of a car and its upkeep are not cheap. But isn't it true that one's own honor, one's own good name is dearer? Surely automobile buyers are not that naive. It is not a toy that is being acquired: weigh your budget, count the family income and expenses, and think--will you not turn out to be a slave of a prestigious new acquisition...

Actually, we are all guilty in some way. Whether we wished it or not, the personal automobile lately has become for us a kind of symbol of prosperity and better circumstances. Such an obsessive symbol, that some families are ready to subsist on bread and water, as long as they can show those around them that they are "no worse off." Remember how many photo stories and articles there have been in the press about the family budget, where it was shown: here is a family who worked hard and bought a car. The father and son wash their "Moskvich." The family is at the cottage--in the background is a car. Here's someone on a fishing trip with his rod--behind him is a shining bumper. An advertisement cries out from the wall: "He saved his money in a savings-bank--and bought a new car!..."

When did this start? Not yesterday. Recently an old film "Three Plus Two" was shown on television. A charming trainer and actress, a student, a veterinarian and a physicist in the role of auto vagabonds on the Black Sea... How many movies came out after that with elegant automobile heroes!

No, we are far from thinking that the reasons for recidivism in consumption and accumulation are in the production of films. The cinema reflects what is happening and, in showing young auto travellers in their films, the scriptwriters and directors are not sinning against the truth: in the "Moskviches" and "Zhigulis" which rush past us, there is nothing but young faces. Behind the wheel are people. many of whom have probably not yet managed

in their whole lifetime to earn enough for even one tire. Philoprogenitive parents took out a deposit from their savings book, or gave the automobile as a wedding gift or bought it themselves, but the son drives it by permit. You can't count the number of these permits that have been given out in notary offices. The ever-younger age of car owners is witnessed by police records. I leaf through the reports. "Sold ten-ruble vodka for 24 rubles. Engineer. Age 30." "Sold vodka. Student. Age 25..." Age 28, 32, 27... The anxious father comes running: "The raid force has detained my son, he's not guilty, I just entrusted him with taking the car to the garage." Meanwhile, this is not the first time that the son, an eighteen-year-old student, has been engaged in the "carrier's trade." Does not the permit to use an automobile become a permit for speculation?

We recall once again the moving words which were heard at the June (1983) Plenum of the USSR CP Central Committee: We are troubled by the parasitism of some young people and their lack of desire to work, the desire to distinguish themselves not by knowledge and diligence, but by expensive objects, purchased with parental money. As you can see, there also exists money "earned" through the "carrier's trade," the re-selling of vodka, and includes the help of the parents' transportation.

The boom in automobiles seems now to be declining. More and more often an ad catches the eye: "A brand-name automobile for sale..." To be sure, the question is not about the ebb and flow in automobile stores. It concerns something else: Why does a man who only yesterday considered himself to be honest and respectable often begins to dodge and to bargain with his conscience once he has become the owner of a four-wheeled piece of property? Is consciousness really refracted as easily as is distorted the reflection of a face in the smooth curve of a bumper? We often and rightly speak of developing reasonable demands, but we often forget that you do not develop reasonable demands and interests by words and persuasion alone. Effective means must be found.

It is difficult to catch speculators on wheels. Those who deal in the vodka business know what they're doing. Many don't carry more than one bottle ("I took it for myself, but I was persuaded...") while the remainder is safely hidden nearby. They make hiding-places in their cabs where the illegal "ruble notes" disappear. They do their re-selling as they drive... Punishing speculators is also difficult--you have to catch them red-handed and prove "premeditated re-sale for the purpose of profit."

It is thought that there is a measure more serious than fines--publicity. The raid carried out in Chelyabinsk showed that those speculating in vodka were very much afraid of it. Do you know what the operators of the auto-stores who were in custody were frightened of the most? The participation of a correspondent in the raid. A fine is nothing, but to get your name in the paper!

The city paper named the names of the enterprising pedlars, but this was not easy to do, since a great number of well-wishing defenders suddenly appeared on behalf of each of them. Telephone calls from the most unexpected

organizations, personal visits, the search for acquaintances of acquaintances... And each justification is better than the next: "He's a sensible teacher, his students will read of this," "He works with children, after all, and we'll be subjecting him to general ridicule," "He did so much for the improvement of roads in the city." Remember, in one of the references the title of master's candidate of sports in tourism was even accredited to someone? As if travelling around his native land for his own pleasure allows him to break Soviet laws.

A fundamental public appraisal of these facts is needed, yes it is! The judgment of the collective conscience is indispensable. Not only in punishment, but also in exhortation. So that those elegant independent proprietors of wine shops on wheels experience the power of public opinion.

Well, and are auto speculators punished in any way after all, you ask? Yes they are. In practice, everyone who is detained is deprived of his right to drive for a period of up to one year. But this is a punishment from the Automobile Inspection Office--for breaking traffic laws which say that an automobile cannot be used for the purpose of gaining personal profit. Incontestably proven speculation is punished more strictly. A dozen half-liter bottles, not counting the ones that were sold, were taken from the "morally steadfast" construction engineer. The court handed him quite a strict sentence--two years probation with a work-order for building the national economy and the confiscation of his automobile. By the way, he appealed with a letter to the State Auto Inspection, pleading for the return of his automobile. His main argument may at first glance stir someone to pity "For the sale of vodka I have already incurred what for me is the most terrible punishment--I am disgraced in the eyes of my many friends, acquaintances and colleagues, and have ceased to exist as a person..." The logic is peculiar: I have ceased to exist as an individual, so at least leave me my car...

No. The engineer-speculator ceased to exist as "a person" not when his activities were made public, but at the moment when for some crumpled rubles he sold his first bottle of vodka and his conscience.

9931

CSO: 1800/430

## REGIONAL

### THREE-VOLUME UKRAINIAN PROPAGANDA WORK REVIEWED

#### Volume I: Youth Education

Kiev KOMMUNIST UKRAINY in Russian No 12, Dec 83 (signed to press 28 Nov 83)  
pp 87-88

[Review by V. K. Vasilenko and L. M. Gordiyenko of the book "Ideologicheskaya Rabota: Opyt, Problemy" [Ideological Work: Experience, Problems] Vol. No 1. "Problems of the Ideological-Political, Labor and Moral Upbringing of the Youth." Edited by L. M. Kravschuk (head), B. V. Ivanenko, A. V. Merkulov, F. M. Rudich, V. I. Yurchuk et. al. Politizdat Ukrainy, Kiev, 1982, 359 pp]

[Text] One of the most important prerequisites for implementing the party's task of perfecting ideological and political education work is the close study, systematic summation and comprehensive dissemination of acquired positive experience. In this connection the attention of party, soviet, and Komsomol workers, the ideological aktiv, the republic's social scientists and the broad readership has been drawn to the publication of the first volume of the collection of articles under review, which marks the beginning of a new annual publication.

The first volume deals with problems of perfecting the ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of the youth. The relevance and significance of the problems covered in this issue are confirmed by the tremendous attention paid to them by the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, in his speech at the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee with party veterans.

The collection opens with the article "Raising Ideologically Tempered and Active Fighters for the Cause of Communism and Zealous Patriots and Internationalists" by V. V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CP of the Ukraine Central Committee first secretary. It provides a comprehensive characterization of the social appearance of contemporary youth, indicating its features and describing successes in the ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of young men and women in the republic along with unresolved problems. In particular, the author notes that the party members cannot fail to be concerned by even isolated cases of lack of discipline among young people, not to mention manifestations of a consumerist attitude toward



life. "Any negligence in work or at school, any minor manifestation of a socially passive attitude and recurrences of cynicism and egotism, not to speak of violations of the law by some young people," notes Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy, "is incompatible with the principles of our Soviet way of life and our communist morality" (p 9).

A valuable feature of the article is that it indicates the specific ways and means of improving the workstyle of party and Komsomol organizations in the communist upbringing of the youth. Great attention has been paid to problems of energizing the participation of young people in resolving national economic problems and intensifying educational work on the basis of live practical examples and the exploits of today's heroes and enhancing the role of the labor collective in developing in the young people a collectivistic mentality, social activeness and intolerance of manifestations of ideology and morality alien to us.

In his article "A Most Important Party Task," A. S. Kapto, CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Politburo candidate member and CP of the Ukraine Central Committee secretary, analyzes the forms and methods of party leadership of the Komsomol and the communist upbringing of young people in the republic. The author discusses the application of a scientific approach to the organization of ideological education, ensuring close unity in the ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of the next generation and strengthening the interconnection between organizational and ideological activities and the unity between words and actions. The article describes the comprehensive work of party and Komsomol organizations in involving the young people in the solution of socioeconomic problems. It describes the growing importance in the educational process of the personal example set by party members from whom the Komsomol members learn how to live and work in the Leninist and communist fashion. Specific examples are given of the best experience in the use of the entire set of available means and methods of proven usefulness and the constant search for new ways for further improving the communist upbringing of the youth.

The experience acquired by party and Komsomol organizations in developing a Marxist-Leninist outlook in the various categories of young people and the development of their labor and sociopolitical activeness are described in the articles by V. F. Dobrik, candidate member of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Lvov Party Obkom, L. M. Kravchuk, CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department head, I. I. Skib, first secretary of the Ivano-Frankovsk Party Obkom, N. V. Bagrov, Crimean Oblast Party Committee secretary, and others. They point out that increasing the efficiency of political and economic training and other forms of propaganda and agitation largely depends on the relevance and enrichment of their content, the level of training of ideological cadres and their competence and level of information. Noteworthy in this respect is a presentation of basic ways and means of working with propagandists, lecturers and political reporters.

A number of authors, including A. I. Pogrebnyak, secretary of the Kirovograd Party Obkom, A. S. Onishchenko, director of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Institute of Scientific Atheism Interrepublic Branch, and

I. Ya. Sakhan', Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee secretary, discuss the differentiated approach to youth upbringing and analyze methods of ideological education which have developed of late, such as youth sociopolitical clubs and special political education days and extensive focus on the application of systems of new civic traditions, ceremonies and rituals.

The collection describes the positive experience gained in the patriotic and international upbringing of the next generation and at the organization of counterpropaganda. To this effect the republic party and Komsomol organizations extensively use the internationalist traditions of the CPSU, the Soviet people and the Leninist Komsomol; meetings with heroes of the Soviet Union and of socialist labor, civil and Great Patriotic War veterans and production frontrankers and innovators; socialist competition; and close contacts between young people and their peers in the other fraternal republics and in countries within the socialist commonwealth.

The education of school youth, vocational-technical school students and technicum and university students is discussed in the articles by G. G. Yefimenko, Ukrainian SSR Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, V. N. Rayevskiy, Voroshilovgrad Party Obkom secretary, M. V. Fomenko, Ukrainian SSR Minister of Education, Ye. M. Kadatskiy, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, and V. I. Zaychuk, Ukrainian SSR Minister of Justice. They describe the role of the family and the general education, vocational-technical and higher schools and sports and defense societies in the upbringing of the growing generation and stress the significance of vocational guidance among adolescents and their familiarization with the foundations of Soviet legislation.

The experience gained by the Ukrainian party organizations in perfecting the labor upbringing of the youth is described in the articles by G. P. Yerkhov, Donetsk Party Obkom secretary, G. P. Kharchenko, Zaporozhye Party Obkom second secretary, and V. I. Zharkov, Zhdanov Party Gorkom first secretary. The authors stipulate that with a view to developing industriousness and a feeling of ownership among young men and women, the party and Komsomol organizations are extensively involving them in scientific and technical creativity, work in shock Komsomol construction projects, participation in the implementation of the Food and Energy programs and in the struggle for upgrading public production efficiency and quality of output, economy, thrift, etc.

However, not all articles in the collection are of equal quality. Some of them are overburdened with identical examples and facts while others do not include suitable summations.

However, this in no way lowers the value of the work done by the authors and the editors of this very promising publication.

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## Volume II: Ideological Work

Kiev KOMMUNIST UKRAINY in Russian No 2, Feb 84 (signed to press 30 Jan 84)  
pp 90-91

[Review by K. P. Nedel'ko and A. A. Reshetov of the book "Ideologicheskaya Rabota: Opyt, Problemy." Volume No 2. "Unity Between Ideological and Organizational Work," Kiev, Politizdat Ukrainy, 1983, 422 pp]

[Text] One of the most important trends in perfecting overall education work is ensuring the unity between ideological and organizational work of party, soviet and public organizations and economic organs. This is the topic of the second volume of the collection under review. Based on extensive and specific data of many party organizations in the Ukraine, the work describes the way the implementation of this important principle of party life is ensured in the course of their daily work.

The collection opens with the article "In a Creative, Specific and Practical Manner" by A. S. Kapto, CP of the Ukraine Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary. The author considers perfecting ideological work a comprehensive problem, the solution of which presumes active efforts in all directions. In the stricter meaning of the term, it is a question of enriching the content and variety of propaganda activities and ensuring the creative and critical utilization of acquired experience and upgrading the level of organization and management in the ideological area.

The articles included in the collection, in particular those by V. I. Shinkaruk, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, Prof L. V. Sokhan', doctor of philosophical sciences, Prof V. F. Shevchenko, doctor of historical sciences, and others discuss the theoretical foundation of the unity between ideological and organizational work and emphasize the need for a scientific development of the mechanism of this unity and the specific nature of its manifestations in the various areas of social life; the authors note as a shortcoming the inability to take into consideration changes in the ratios among the different components of party activities and in their actual content under the influence of changes in conditions and social and political circumstances.

The article by Yu. N. Yel'chenko, CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Politburo member and Kiev Party Gorkom secretary, and the articles by the first secretaries of the following party obkoms are of considerable interest: M. N. Vsevolozhskiy, Zaporozhye; B. T. Goncharenko, Voroshilovgrad; F. T. Morgun, Poltava; V. P. Mysnichenko, Kharkov; I. K. Lutak, Cherkassy; and L. G. Sharayev, Nikolayev, extensively discuss problems related to improving ideological work. The authors emphasize that the tasks of updating its content, bringing it closer to the demands of the people and strengthening unity between words and actions can be successfully resolved through the joint efforts of all departments of party committees and soviet and economic bodies and public organizations.

The authors indicate that propaganda work is becoming increasingly concentrated in labor collectives and that the party committees are

persistently directing it toward ensuring the implementation of the most important economic and social problems of perfecting developed socialism. The articles by V. A. Sologub, CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Ukrainian Trade Union Council, F. M. Rudich, head of the Science and Schools Department, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, G. Ya. Burtyak, secretary of the Vinnitsa Party Obkom, N. N. Semenyuk, secretary of the Transcarpathian Party Obkom, G. D. Maksimenko, secretary of the Odessa Party Obkom, L. I. Pavlenko, secretary of the Kiev Party Obkom, D. A. Yaremchuk, secretary of the Lvov Party Obkom, A. D. Pelikh, head of the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, and others discuss specific experience acquired in political and organizational work among the masses and describe the vanguard role of the party members, the true leaders of the working people. They note the essential importance of the participation of managers in educational work.

The essential feature of the process of ensuring unity between ideological and organizational work, as stipulated in this issue, is a creative attitude toward acquired experience and the ability critically to assess one's activities. The authors do not bypass unresolved, grave and difficult problems but, conversely, based on previous accomplishments, offer a realistic picture of the situation on the ideological front, which gives a practical direction to the collection materials.

A characteristic feature of the second issue is the fact that a broad circle of authors have been involved, which has made it possible to cover the problem on various levels (from republic to labor collective) and in all basic aspects (content, organizational and methodical). This has also made it possible to show the mechanism of ensuring unity between ideological and organizational work in action, from planning to determining results.

Authors, editors and compilers are engaged in a useful project which will be of unquestionable practical value and will contribute to the better solution of the problems formulated at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Bearing in mind that such publications are a new development and, particularly, the fact that several other issues are planned as well, a number of wishes should be made clear.

Since each issue is dedicated to a single topic, it would be logical to begin with a short preface and add a conclusion, which would enable us to accept the issue as a single entity. Some authors describe the efficiency of ideological and political education work essentially through the lens of production successes and the number of implemented measures, without an adequate study of the way the party organizations prepare themselves for the implementation of such political education measures, the size of the personnel which implements them and the ways, means, forms and methods used and their results. In his

report to the June 1983 CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Plenum, Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy emphasized that it is always important to know the type of returns from educational measures and what the cadres must be taught, not only what to do but how to do it. This is precisely the purpose of this collection.

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### Volume III: Mass Political Work

Kiev KOMMUNIST UKRAINY in Russian No 6, Jun 84 (signed to press 28 May 84)  
pp 88-89

[Review by V. N. Rayevskiy and O. I. Sytnik of the book "Ideologicheskaya Rabota: Opyt, Problemy." Volume No 3. "Improving Ideological and Mass-Political Work," Kiev, Politizdat Ukrainy, 1983, 351 pp]

[Text] The CPSU considers ideological work a powerful means in the education of the new man and in resolving most important economic, social, political and cultural problems and is persistently seeking ways of improving its efficiency. All of this work today is based on fundamental theoretical conclusions and summations, organically linking the profoundly scientific party activities with the specific steps and actions of party committees. That is why in the course of implementing the resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum it is so greatly important to analyze and sum up the work under way and to correct it as necessary, while developing and enriching the bolshevik traditions of work among the masses.

The republic's party aktiv and scientific public are already familiar with an interesting initiative on this level: the publication of the first two volumes of the collection under review, the third volume of which came out recently.

This volume essentially interprets the experience in the work of the republic's party committees in perfecting ideological work and raising it to the level of the major and complex problems which are being resolved by the party and the people at the developed socialist stage.

The collection opens with the article "Ideological Work on the Level of Contemporary Tasks" by Comrade V. V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CP of the Ukraine Central Committee first secretary. The author presents a broad view of the activities of party members in Soviet Ukraine and proves that success is achieved wherever and whenever the party organizations base their efforts on the Leninist principle of unity among ideological-theoretical, propaganda, organizational and economic work. This demands of each committee and organization always to take into account the extent to which ideological and mass political work is oriented toward and contributes to the solution of the strategic problem; the way it ensures the mobilization of the party members and all working people in resolving priority problems and, finally, the way in which this work affects the strengthening of ideological convictions and patriotic and internationalist firmness in the

minds and behavior of the people and contributes to strengthening unity between party and people.

In noting the substantial changes for the better which have taken place on the ideological front, V. V. Shcherbitskiy also describes a number of important problems and aspects of ideological activity which are still insufficiently studied or resolved in the republic. In terms of the social sciences, this means the low practical returns of many scientific developments, insufficient attention paid to the study of topical contemporary problems and poor application of the forecasting functions of social science. For the practical workers the question now is one of radically improving the organization of the entire educational process. Progress in these two decisive directions will enable us to eliminate the still-existing gap between them, which is equally damaging to science and to practical work.

Materials in the collection are divided into three sections. In the first, extensive factual data prove that the implementation of the resolutions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum enriched the content of oral propaganda and mass political agitation. V. G. Boyko, CP of the Ukraine Dnepropetrovsk Party Obkom first secretary, presents this thesis in analyzing the efficiency of political studies; V. F. Dobrik, CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Lvov Party Obkom, covers the comprehensive work done on promoting patriotism and internationalism; and M. N. Vsevolozhskiy, Zaporozhye Party Obkom first secretary, writes on the ways and means of strengthening the unity between words and actions.

The authors convincingly prove that one of the decisive trends in perfecting ideological work is enhancing the scientific standard and making it consistent with the people's real needs and interests. This is discussed in particular by V. I. Shinkaruk, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, N. N. Kiselev, consultant at the Methodological Seminars Buro of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, G. D. Maksimenko, Odessa Obkom party secretary, V. Ye. Ostrozhinskiy, Zhitomir Party Obkom secretary, and A. I. Nikishenko, first secretary of the Dneprovskiy Party Raykom in Kiev.

In emphasizing the plenum's concept of the indivisibility between ideological work and the implementation of the party's socioeconomic policy, the authors indicate the great improvements in the efficiency and result of propaganda and agitation when they are directly concentrated within the primary party organizations and labor collectives and when all managers and party members become actively involved in them. Clear examples of precisely such an approach are even in the articles by V. P. Mironov, Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Donetsk Party Obkom, I. K. Lutak, CP of the Ukraine Cherkassy Party Obkom first secretary, and others.

An essentially successful attempt has been made to describe in the collection all areas in which the socialist individual is raised and to analyze the activities of the entire information and propaganda arsenal available to the republic. These are the topics treated by V. Ya. Serobab, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian SSR Union of Journalists, and the following heads of state committees: publishing, printing and book trade, A. Ya. Pashchenko; and

television and radio broadcasting, N. F. Okhmakevich. Together with A. V. Myalovitskiy, editor-in-chief of the journal KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, L. F. Kiz', editor of the newspaper ZORYA POLTAVSHCHINI, and S. N. Ganichev, party bureau secretary, editorial board of the newspaper PRAVDA UKRAINY, they cover from various sides the aspiration of the journalists who made their materials more profound and topical, based on life and real problems which affect the people and thus to achieve the main purpose, which is making publications and broadcasts more effective.

The final section of the collection deals with basic areas of the work with ideological cadres, such as personnel of the party apparatus, the supernumerary ideological aktiv, school and VUZ teachers and the artistic intelligentsia. A profound analysis of the system for training ideological cadres in the republic is provided in the article by L. M. Kravchuk, CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department. B. V. Ivanenko, CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Culture Department head, N. V. Bagrov, Crimean Party Obkom secretary, V. S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman, and L. A. Kanishchenko, Ukrainian SSR deputy minister of higher and secondary specialized education, describe the way party committees, soviet agencies and creative unions are strengthening and developing full relations with writers, painters, composers and theater and movie workers and the scientific and pedagogical public on the basis of high party exigency and professional strictness and the help they give to school and VUZ teachers in honorably fulfilling their noble social mission as educators.

As we can see, the collection covers a broad range of topics. It is also characterized by the desire of the authors and compilers critically to assess accomplishments, to determine unfinished work in the ideological area self-critically, and to identify the strong and weak areas in propaganda and education. The articles also reflect the desire of many party committees decisively to uproot ostentatiousness and paper-shuffling in propaganda and mass political work.

We would like to express the following wishes: such topic publications should be edited more thoroughly, for occasionally the authors duplicate the same facts, quotations and concepts. A number of articles include long lists of topics of political training classes, articles and broadcasts without describing the content.

The third volume issue of this collection confirms that this is one more book containing most important features in terms of improving ideological work: sharp thinking, accuracy and convincing arguments. We can confidently say that this publication will develop its readership and will be a good help in the communist upbringing of the working people.

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## REGIONAL

### LATVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CC HOLDS PLENUM

#### Information Report

[LATINFORM "Information Report on the Plenum of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia," held 23 June 1984 in Riga.]

[Text] On 23 June 1984, a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia was held in Riga.

The plenum discussed the question "On Tasks of the Republic Party Organization for Improving the Style and Methods of Work in the Light of the Decisions of the February and April (1984) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the Requirements Expressed in Speeches of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K.U. Chernenko."

First secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia B.K. Pugo delivered an address.

Persons taking part in the discussions on the address included the first secretary of Riga Party Gorkom Ya.Ya. Bagris, first secretary of Daugavpils Party Gorkom T.L. Dushkevich, first secretary of Yelgavskiy Party Raykom Ya.A. Kaleys, brigade leader of fitters and assemblers of Riga Specialized Installation Administration of Promtekhmontazh Ya.B. Rantsan, partkom secretary of Riga VEF Production Association imeni V.I. Lenin F.A. Kornelius, director of Sovkhoz imeni 50-Letiye SSSR of Bauskiy Rayon A.-V. Ya. Endzelis, first secretary of Latvian Komsomol Central Committee M.K. Rukmane and chief of Latvian SSR Central Statistical Administration G.A. Baltin.

The plenum adopted an extended decree on the discussed question. It points out that the communists and working people of Soviet Latvia, as in the country as a whole, unanimously approve and support the internal and external policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government aimed at the all-out improvement of developed socialist society and ensuring of peace on earth; with determined labor they bolster the economic and defensive might of the Motherland. The greetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia in connection with the 80th anniversary of its formation were received with great enthusiasm.



All the work of party committees and organizations, it states in the decree, are aimed at ensuring the solution of key tasks of economic and cultural construction and the attainment of high labor end results. Targets are being fulfilled in the republic for the production of the national income, growth rates of gross production and labor productivity in industry. The volume of production and sale to the state of agricultural output is increasing.

At the same time, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia notes that the style and methods of organizational and political work of the republic party organization call for further improvement. The transition of sectors of the republic's economy to the path of intensive development is slow in being carried out. Due to nonobservance of party and state discipline, many enterprises failed to fulfill for the 5 months of the current year contractual obligations for delivery and targets for raising labor productivity and reducing production cost.

Attention is drawn in the adopted decree to the need to more determinedly improve the style, forms and methods of organizational and political work and to increase the effectiveness of party guidance of the republic's social life. There should be untiringly developed and affirmed in the work of party organs and managerial personnel of the republic a creative, scientific approach to the solution of arising problems, genuine Leninist enterprise and right mindedness, a critical approach to the appraisal of work, a high level of personal responsibility, the ability to rely on the collective intelligence and experience of the masses; to actively influence their frame of mind and to sensitively react to the needs and declarations of workers.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia assured the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo of the Central Committee and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K.U. Chernenko that the republic's communists and all workers will do everything necessary for the fulfillment of the tasks set by the party and will achieve new successes in the building of communism.

The plenum also examined the question "On Progress of Realization of Critical Comments and Proposals Made at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia." Second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia V.I. Dmitriyev presented a report on this question.

In the discussions, first secretary of Yurmala Party Gorkom N.Yu. Usin, Latvian SSR Minister of Construction N.I. Kaftaylov and first secretary of Bauskiy Party Raykom Ya.P. Bonat took part.

The plenum adopted an appropriate decree on the examined question.

In conclusion, B.K. Pugo spoke at the plenum. He emphasized the need of further improving work in all spheres of economic and social construction and unconditional ensuring fulfillment of plans and socialist commitments for 1984 and the five-year plan as a whole. It is necessary to devote the principal attention on the use of all available reserves for raising labor productivity and work quality. A first-priority task of the day is mobilization of the efforts of all personnel of the agroindustrial complex to successful carrying out of fodder procurement and raising animal-husbandry productivity.

The plenum examined organizational questions. A.P. Kalutsen was approved as chief of the Department of Light Industry and Consumer Goods of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia and M.Ya. Dubra--as chief of the Department of Trade and Personal Services of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia.

#### Pugo Speech

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 24 Jun 84 pp 1-2

[Text] Comrades! Today's plenum is taking place at an extraordinary and exciting time. The 80th anniversary has just occurred of the formation of the Communist Party of Latvia, B.K. Pugo said. In connection with this memorable event, a message of greetings was received, as you know, from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It rates highly the work of the Communist Party throughout its entire history and expresses congratulations and good wishes to the republic's communists and working people.

We look upon the greetings of the CPSU Central Committee as new, vivid and convincing evidence of the untiring concern of the Central Committee of the party and its militant command staff--the Politburo of the Central Committee on the economic and social development of Soviet Latvia and on bolstering the vanguard role of its party organization. Such an attitude cannot but help evoke a feeling of genuine pride and tremendous gratitude. And today, we express from the podium of our plenum words of profound and cordial gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade K.U. Chernenko personally for their constant concern and understanding, for their warm-hearted greetings and for their cordial wishes.

The greetings of the CPSU Central Committee are for us a political document of vast mobilizing force. It expresses firm conviction in the fact that Latvia's Communist Party will henceforward carry high Lenin's banner, bolster the fighting efficiency of its ranks, develop the creative activity of the masses and attain new successes in bolstering the republic's economy and culture.

To put into practice this directive, to fulfill the instructions of the party constitute an urgent task of communists and all laboring people of the republic. We have all the resources, all the conditions for this. And first of all a firm economic base, the rich experience of revolutionarily transforming activity and a concrete program of action set forth by the 26th party congress, the February and April (1984) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the directives of Comrade K.U. Chernenko. The main thing to be done now, during the period of immediate preparations for the 27th congress, is to tally up what has been achieved, to consolidate everything positive, to extract lessons from committed mistakes, to self-critically analyze defects and to determine ways of overcoming them without letting up in the work, to progress further and to achieve more.

In all spheres of the life of Soviet society today there are major and to a significant degree new tasks whose successful fulfillment directly depends on the level of party leadership and the state of organizational and political work among the masses. Therefore the need of raising the quality of work of party committees, primary party organizations and improving the style, forms and methods of their operation is above all of primary importance.

The style and methods of leadership, it was pointed out at the 26th party congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee constitute a most important question for every party organization, every committee and for the whole party. The concrete embodiment of a truly Leninist style is to be found in the many-sided activity of the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and the indefatigable work of General Secretary of the Central Committee Comrade K.U. Chernenko in successfully implementing internal and external policy. This is a model by which one should be guided and toward which all elements and organizations of the party are striving.

Recently the CPSU Central Committee adopted large-scale decisions on many fundamental, key problems of our life. Among these most important party documents are to be found decrees on the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia on improving the style and methods of work of party organizations and "On the Basic Results of Reports and Elections to the Party and Tasks of Party Organizations." The positions of these decrees, which are of partywide importance, oblige us to raise in every possible way the level of party supervision, to ensure consistent implementation of the party line and fulfillment of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and to work for high practical results in any undertaking.

The republic's party committees proceed in their work from the fact that they are political organs and therefore should also use political means for the attainment of goals. It may be asserted with confidence that the work of party raykoms and gorkoms is increasingly characterized by efficiency, collectiveness and a creative approach to the solution of tasks set for party organizations. This confirms again the recent talks of the secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia and other leaders of the republic with the first secretaries of party raykoms and gorkoms and chairmen of a number of ispolkoms held in connection with preparations for the present plenum. At the time of the talks, many questions of party life were touched upon and many concrete proposals were advanced that were of basic importance for strengthening the organizational and ideo-educational work.

We have many good examples of thoughtful, purposeful work of party committees, the speaker noted. Serious attention is being given by the party organization of the city of Riga to improving work style and methods. The gorkom is determinedly increasing the role and responsibility of party raykoms, primary party organizations and soviet and operational personnel for the entrusted task. It attaches high-priority importance to strengthening organization and order. And this finds its concrete expression in economic indicators. In the city, state plans are being successfully fulfilled, efficiency of production and quality of work are being raised and the growth rate of the volume of industrial output is being increased. And it is no accident that Riga has been the victor of the All-Union Socialist competition ten times in a row.

Pursuance of set goals and the ability to isolate the main elements in the complex of tasks being resolved is largely inherent in the work style of Leninskiy Party Raykom. The Oktyabrskiy Party Raykom has gained experience of perfecting the work of the apparatus. Initiative and a balanced approach to work characterize the work style of Daugavpils and Liyepaya party gorkoms. Kuldigskiy, Valmiyerskiy, Kraslavskiy, Yelgavskiy party raykoms are constantly improving the style of their work. Unity of organizational, ideo-political and economic work is being successfully achieved by the party organizations of production: associations VEF, Khimvolokno and Latvijas Stikls, the factories Avrora, 17 Iyunya, Latvian Maritime Steamship Line, kolkhozes Krasnyy Oktyabr' of Preylskiy Rayon, Yaunays Komunars of Salduskiy Rayon, Blazma of Ventspilskiy Rayon and many others. All this attests to the fact that in the republic party organization an active and fruitful process is proceeding of enriching the content, forms and methods of party work. A decisive role in this is played by the personal style of operation of secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations. The first secretaries of city and rayon party committees Comrade Ya.Ya. Vagris, A.V. Bush, R.Ya. Matis, Ya.P. Bonat, V.K. Avots and other comrades are solving with a high level of responsibility and creatively the tasks facing the party organizations.

An example of a thoughtful and resourceful approach to set tasks is being shown by many of our operational managers. I would like to include among them the general directors of VEF and Khimvolokno associations Comrades O.K. Lenev and Ya.Ya. Ambaynis, the chief of the Latvian Maritime Steamship Line Comrade V.I. Dyrchenko, the director of Avrora Factory Comrade V.P. Moskovskiy, the chairmen of Krasnyy Oktyabr' and Padom'yu Latviya kolkhozes Comrades R.V. Kavinskiy and E.K. Bans, the director of Sovkhoz imeni XXV S'yezd KPSS Comrade L.P. Skostu and others.

Consistency of action, unity of idea and execution and a conscientious attitude toward work distinguish the work style of the secretaries of primary party organizations of Avtoelektropribor Comrade G.A. Grigoryev, the Rigas Apgerbs Association Comrade V.V. Beloy, Draudziba Kolkhoz of Talsinskiy Rayon Comrade G.A. Berzin, Zasa Sovkhoz Yekabpilsskiy Rayon Comrade V.M. Timpy, Progress Sovkhoz of Bauskiy Rayon Comrade E.A. Tsezins and many, many others.

Improvement of party organizational and ideo-educational work and party supervision of economic construction has made it possible for the republic party organization to achieve marked results in the economic field.

Five-year targets are being fulfilled for production of the national income and the growth rates of commodity production and labor productivity in industry. Positive changes are also occurring in agriculture.

In a word, in the years of the five-year plan much has changed for the better and much has been done, but by no means everything. In the development of the economy, many unresolved questions, difficulties and defects remain.

Where is the problem? First of all, B.K. Pugo emphasized, it is in the fact that many party committees and organizations utilize insufficiently effectively efficacious forms and methods of their influence for achieving the limits of the five-year plan and solutions of key questions of economic and cultural development and communist education of working people.

This to a large degree explains the fact that in the republic there is still a great number of lagging enterprises. A particularly troubling situation is developing in observance of delivery discipline. In the 5 months of the current year, contractual commitments have been broken by 112 enterprises, or almost 45 percent of their total number.

Deliveries are not being adhered to by enterprises of the Ministries of Forestry and Timber Industry, Light and Local Industry and Construction Materials Industry.

The reasons for the disruptions of contractual commitments cannot be explained by objective factors, although many managers have become used to citing them. The fact of the matter lies elsewhere--in methods of management, in the fact that such managers have not reached the proper conclusions from the requirements of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on strict observance of delivery discipline and conduct this important work superficially and inconsistently.

The buro of the Central Committee recently examined the question of violations of delivery discipline at the Ministry of Forestry and Timber Industry and in other departments and strictly pointed out to their heads the need of adopting the most decisive measures for eliminating defects and for establishing work regularity. Today the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia is again obliged to direct the attention of ministries and departments, party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations to the fact that they bear complete responsibility for observance of contractual commitments. The principle of "an order is law" must become a fixed rule in the operation of all parts of production and management and in the work of each labor collective and each manager.

The present style and methods of work of many party committees, soviet and economic organs and production collectives do not in full measure provide for the solution of such an important task as all-round raising of labor productivity. We know that the whole growth of production volume in the republic is now being attained through growth of labor productivity. This, of course, is good. At the same time, targets of the five-year plan with respect to this indicator were not fulfilled by a considerable number of enterprises of the Ministry of Construction, Construction Materials Industry, Light, Food, Meat and Dairy Industry, Procurement and others as well as by plants of union subordination--railroad-car construction, electric bulbs, hydrometeorological instruments, Sarkana Zvayzne, RAF, Latbumprom Association and a number of others.

Appropriate measures are not being adopted everywhere for fulfillment of an additional target of the party--raising labor productivity one percent above plan and reducing production cost by half of one percent. Here the Ministries of the Construction Materials Industry, Food Industry and a number of enterprises of union subordination lag considerably. The Ministries of Industry, Forestry and Timber Industry, as well as a paint-and-varnish plant, an experimental mechanization-equipment plant, the Olaine Plastics Processing Plant and the Rigakhimmash Plant allowed production-cost increases rather than reductions to occur. All this is the direct consequence of weakened party organizational

and political educational work, inadequate accountability of personnel and their formal bureaucratic style of work.

Nonfulfillment of the target for additional reduction of production cost obliges the bureau of the Central Committee, secretaries of the Central Committee and party gorkoms and raykoms to make stricter demands on economic managers and require that they analyze their work more deeply. And here it is not a matter of explaining what has occurred but of specifically comprehending ways and methods of rectifying the situation.

Further pointing out the need to increase efforts to speed scientific technical progress and to improve party support of successful carrying out of the economic experiment, the speaker emphasized that all party work in the sphere of material production must now aim at the realization of the main task--fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1984 plan and the five-year plan as a whole, moreover by each labor collective and for all technical-economic indicators.

For these purposes, it is necessary to ensure better utilization of progressive forms of labor organization and motivation. We speak enough on this topic. But the heads of many labor collectives are still not really engaged in introducing the brigade contract on the basis of cost accounting. Only 36 percent of the workers in industry work in brigades with pay based on end results. In agriculture, this progressive form of labor organization takes in as yet even a smaller number of kolkhoz farmers and sovkhoz workers.

It is time for party raykoms and gorkoms, party and trade-union organizations and economic managers and specialists to go from words to practical improvement of work and to more determinedly develop and improve brigade forms of labor organization and on this basis to achieve a rise in its productivity. At the same time, one should show concern for a healthy moral and psychological climate in the brigades, to increase party influence in them and to create there where conditions permit party groups and appoint party organizers.

Another very important task exists for party committees, primary party organizations and soviet and economic organs--to engage significantly more and better in the solution of the food problem. Today we are obliged to candidly admit that the republic's contribution to the country's food program could be greater. Many farms and whole rayons are still not fulfilling their prescribed plans and show significant indebtedness to the state. The biggest lag with respect to state purchases of cattle and poultry in the 5 months of 1984 was shown by Gulbenskiy, Balvskiy and Aluksnenskiy rayons and of milk --by Ludzenskiy, Aluksnenskiy and Madonskiy rayons.

The strictest censure is called for by the manifestly unfit style of a number of heads of party, soviet and economic organs trying to hide behind average statistical data the adverse state of affairs on a large number of farms. On the whole our targets for sale of animal husbandry products to the state this year have been fulfilled. As we know, fulfillment of the semiannual plan of state purchases of meat, milk and eggs was completed a few days ago. At the same time plans for procurement of meat and milk in the first quarter have not been fulfilled by many kolkhozes and sovkhozes. There are especially

many such farms in Gulbenskiy, Bauskiy and Balvskiy rayons. Heads and specialists of rayon agroindustrial associations must critically analyze these indicators and compare themselves with neighbors that have a higher level of production and procurement of products and make the necessary conclusions.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia has repeatedly directed the attention of party, soviet and economic organs to the need of thrifty and rational use of the land fund. Despite this, a number of rayons allow squandering of land and the housing fund. The attitude toward this is particularly irresponsible in Ogrskiy, Rizhskiy, Tsesisskiy and Liyepayskiy rayons. For examples, Ogrskiy Rayispolkom with the connivance of the party raykom without justification allocated to the inhabitants of Riga and other cities more than half a thousand plots for the construction of individual houses and permitted the sale of 378 homesteads, including 137 to city dwellers. In recent years, for the republic as a whole, about 2,000 homesteads have been sold to city dwellers. They are used as summer homes, naturally without any benefit to agriculture. The bureau of the Central Committee believes that party committees of the indicated and other rayons have shown a lack of principles, permitting obvious illegality, since under existing legislation persons living in the city do not have the right to purchase houses located in rural localities except in those cases where a house is being sold for demolition. Strict order in the use of land must be adopted everywhere.

The 26th party congress called animal husbandry the countryside's shock front. The realization of this directive calls for an especially responsible approach on the part of party committees. In the development of animal husbandry and raising its productivity, undoubtedly many problems, and difficult ones at that, exist. Let us take, for example, animal-husbandry complexes. Due to lack of housing and other social-living conditions, many of them are poorly supplied with personnel and do not provide the necessary yield. Effectiveness in the operation of complexes is particularly low in Aluksnenskiy, Balvskiy and Ludzenskiy rayons. This clearly confirms the unsoundness of such a style of management where an integrated approach is lacking and unity of economic and social-living aspects are not observed in the solution of such an important and major task as concentration of production in animal husbandry. Ministries and departments of the agriculture industry, party raykoms and rayispolkoms should adopt all the necessary measures for radically improving the operation of animal-husbandry complexes. It is necessary to direct the efforts of primary party organizations, of farm heads and specialists and all animal-husbandry farm workers to significantly raise cattle productivity. There should not be a single rayon where animal-husbandry farms show a productivity of less than 3,000 kilograms of milk from a cow. The main thing here is to overcome the lag in fodder production and to see to it that designated measures for its development are realized fully. It is necessary with maximal effectiveness to utilize the favorable prospects of this summer for the creation of a solid fodder base and to put into operation all reserves for adding to fodder stocks.

Improvement of the style of party supervision of agriculture is indissolubly connected to the fulfillment of tasks set by the party for the improvement of management. The structure of management in the agroindustrial sector is

unwieldy. It is necessary to simplify it, to make the apparatus less expensive and to reduce administrative personnel. This, incidentally, applies to all sectors of the economy.

Party and soviet organs will have to significantly activate the work of soviets of rayon agroindustrial associations, increase their coordinating role, bar the bureaucratic approach in the solution of general tasks for the rayon pertaining to the fulfillment of state orders for agricultural products, increase the use of economic methods and ensure more economical utilization of material, labor and financial resources. At the same time, independence and initiative of farms should be developed in the solution of production and social problems, their petty surveillance should not be permitted, but the enterprise and initiatives of managers in searching out additional means of raising efficiency of farming and animal-husbandry should be encouraged in every possible way.

The work style of party, soviet, trade-union and economic organs should be permeated with concern for people, for each Soviet individual. Here there are no trifles, all questions are important. Party committees must exercise unweakening control over construction and fair distribution of housing and the state of trade and of personal, medical and cultural services. They are obliged to keep within the field of view literally all questions connected with improving the working and living conditions of Soviet people and fuller satisfaction of their growing material and spiritual needs.

In concerning ourselves with improving our work style, we should proceed from the fact that it won't brook standing still, but requires a continuous creative development, B.K. Pugo said further on. Efforts of party organs aimed at improving work forms and methods are yielding favorable results. Nonetheless the basis exists among us for the conclusion that despite certain improvements, many defects still exist in this sphere.

Party committees are far from doing everything for the eradication of manifestations of formalism, superficiality, and officious bureaucratic methods of management. In party organizations, there is no reduction of the flow of paperwork both from "above to below" and from "below to above. The energies of the elected aktiv and the party apparatus are frequently spent on fussing at meetings. Buro meetings of many party committees are overloaded. This is due to serious defects in planning and in the actual practice of party work. In many cases questions are frequently brought up for discussion that could be and should be studied at other organs. Insufficient attention is being paid to primary party organizations, their elected aktiv and their control over the fulfillment of decisions. The buros of many party committees, particularly those of Tukumskiy, Tsesisskiy, Rizhskiy, Aluksnenskiy raykoms and Ventspils gorkom are insufficiently ably relying on primary party organizations and tolerate unfinished items of work in selection, placement and education of cadres. They must intensify the struggle against violations of party ethics and various abuses.

Some party committees do not always take into consideration the specific nature and political character of supervision. The functions are not clearly delineated everywhere of party committees and state and economic organs, the speaker



pointed out further. At the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K.U. Chernenko called delineation of functions a major question of political importance. The practice of replacement of economic managers, he said, dampens personnel. Moreover, it is fraught with the danger of weakening the role of the party committee as an organ of political supervision. Elimination of duplication in the work of party, soviet and economic organs and public organizations should proceed through the use of a consistent political approach to the solution of worthwhile tasks by all party committees and primary party organizations. Party supervision presupposes use of methods of organizational and educational work and the concentration of main efforts on work with cadres, increase of demands on them, organization of checks on fulfillment and education and development of activity of communists and all workers. This fully corresponds to the requirements of the CPSU Charter and the very spirit of party work.

A duty of party committees and primary party organizations is to adopt effective measures for the establishment of a truly party, businesslike style in the work of all soviet and economic organs and public organizations. Here many serious defects exist. The republic's Council of Ministers has not achieved strict observance of state discipline by heads of ministries and departments. At times they display liberalism in regard to those who do not fulfill their direct instructions and directions and are not sufficiently working on the job of reduction of paperwork. The number of papers sent to ministries and departments displays a tendency toward increase.

Clearly, the style of paperwork is not going to die of its own accord. It is necessary to deal with it determinedly and uncompromisingly. Departments of the Central Committee, party committees and organizations should put under their control the operation of economic-management organs and decisively put a stop to attempts which, regardless of where they are made, replace real specific work with paper shuffling.

In continuing the discussion on improvement of style, it should be noted that in the solution of urgent problems of developing the republic's economy, in strengthening planning discipline and accomplishment of complex programs, the role of Gosplan has so far been inadequate. We have developed many such programs. But monitoring the state of their accomplishment is manifestly organized unsatisfactorily. At this time, when we have begun the immediate compilation of the 12th Five-Year Plan, the role of Gosplan is exceptionally great. Its present plans have so far not satisfied the bureau of the Central Committee. In many cases, they are below the results attained in the 11th Five-Year Plan, especially in regard to national income. Gosplan together with ministries and departments must prepare in the shortest time possible realistic calculations of maximal possible growth of the national income.

Serious deficiencies in work style exist in the operation of republic ministries, departments and other organizations. Not all managers have learned as yet to derive the necessary conclusions from results and lessons of past years. Their organizational work largely remains at the former level which does not meet the growing tasks and high requirements described in the decisions of the February and April plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and decrees of the Central Committee.

Let us turn, for example, to the work practice of the Ministry of Light Industry--the headquarters of the republic's leading sector (minister--Comrade E.Ya. Yablonskiy). At plenums of the Central Committee and meetings of the republic party aktiv, this ministry has been repeatedly criticized for deficiencies in work style and methods, yet their elimination is proceeding inadmissibly slowly. Drowning in the elements of current affairs, the ministry loses sight of problem questions and finds itself unable to concentrate its forces on such tasks of a basic nature as growth of labor productivity, rise of output capital, acceleration of scientific-technical progress and improvement of product quality. Numerous defects in organizational work and style and methods of management have resulted in the sector not fulfilling targets of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Many ministries and departments continue to be infatuated with holding all kinds of conferences and meetings. This comment first and foremost applies to the Ministry of Construction and its subordinate organizations. Meetings of collegiums for discussing the results of fulfillment of production plans sometimes last here for two days. But the decisions adopted at the numerous conferences are inadequately monitored directly at construction sites and in many cases are not fulfilled on schedule. It turns out that decisions are adopted not for the purpose of improving work organization but only, as Lenin said, for their admiration. Understand correctly, comrades: the buro of the Central Committee is not against businesslike discussion of our day-to-day work but against speechifying.

The ministries and departments of the agroindustrial complex have not duly reorganized their work in the light of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee. Elements of administering, unnecessary regulation and petty surveillance of farms are to be found in their work. Supervisory organs of the agroindustrial complex should better and more fully study the concrete needs and requirements of agricultural production and engage more in questions of further improvement of management. It is necessary to see to it that the examination of current questions does not block off basic and long-term problems of agricultural development, many of which we are slow and insufficiently effective in solving.

A manifestation of officious bureaucratic methods of management is to be found in the irregular introduction of additional reporting by almost all the ministries. A recent check conducted by the Central Statistical Administration in the second quarter alone of this year disclosed 62 forms of illegal reporting containing 16,500 indicators for the year. The Ministries of Construction and Meat and Dairy Industry, Latvkolkhozstroy and a number of other departments have been quite successful in this. Such cases must receive a principled party appraisal.

The fallacious desire of a number of ministries and departments to involve party committees in the solution of problems of a managerial and operational administrative character that come fully under the competence of state and economic organs deserve censure. In the course of last year, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia received almost 1,700 papers on various economic questions, including more than 400 dealing with problems of material-technical support.

What kind of problems are these? The Ministry of Wood Processing Industry found it possible to ask for the allocation of a motor-vehicle body for the Riga Furniture Combine, helping in the construction of a drainage system at the Bolderayskiy Combine of Complex Timber Processing, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources--for delivery of drainage pipes and allocation of compressors, the Ministry of Construction--for deliveries of brick, reinforced concrete structures and other construction materials, the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry--for reduction of the plan of production and sale of vegetables at one of the collectives of Daugavpilsskiy Rayon and so on. It is clear that such a style is not acceptable.

Heads of ministries and departments must display more efficiency and greater demands on themselves and subordinates and constantly pay attention to arranging for the execution of directives of the party and the government and rendering practical assistance in the localities as well as unconditional fulfillment of state plans and targets. The Council of Ministers has to increase the responsibility of the personnel of its own apparatus and of ministers, chairmen of state committees and heads of other departments for the fulfillment of adopted decisions and implement effect measures for the elimination of defects in the operation of all state institutions. Departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia have to ensure consistent raising of the operational level of republic ministries and departments and the entire governmental apparatus. A task of special importance is enhancement of the role and responsibility of primary party organizations of ministries and departments. The CPSU Charter grants them broad rights and it should be seen to it that they are fully utilized.

The speaker further dwelt on questions of improvement of the work style of party education, mass political training and increasing the effectiveness of ideo-political education as well as further improvement of the work of the mass information and propaganda media.

The entire style of work of party organization and their guiding organs should reliably guarantee strict observance of Leninist norms of party life and the requirements of the CPSU Charter, B.K. Pugo said further. The Central Committee, gorkoms and raykoms of the Communist Party of Latvia are doing a great deal to boost the role and militancy of primary party organizations, strengthen party ranks and improve cadre selection, placement and training.

At the same time, serious lapses are to be found in many sectors of party organizational work. More attention should be paid to the further development of collective management, criticism and self-criticism and increasing the responsibility of communists and demands on them. Meetings at primary party organizations frequently possess an excessively organized character. Quite frequently, the chief attention in reports and speeches of communists is paid not to deep analysis of existing defects and unsolved problems but to attestation of what has been accomplished. Middle echelon personnel, specialists and rank-and-file communists are basically subjected to criticism, while the leaders stay aloof. Plenums of party gorkoms and raykoms are not always held in an atmosphere of candid exchange of opinion or in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism. It should be acknowledged that even at plenums of the Central Committee, critical comments and proposals

of speakers for the most part are not addressed to the persons who are guilty of lapses or on whom the solution of these or those questions depends. Party committees should constantly improve the practice of holding plenums and bureau and party meetings and increase their role and importance as collegial organs of management as well as develop democratism of intraparty life.

At a meeting with voters, Comrade K.U. Chernenko directed attention to the impermissibility of getting caught up in the creation of different kinds of councils, staffs and commissions of which at times there are so many that the organizers themselves cannot make out what is entrusted to whom and who should be accountable for what. It is well known that creation of public councils and commissions and staffs is widespread and in many cases a purposeful form of work of party committees with an elective and supernumerary aktiv. However, the lawful process of improving the organizational mechanism of party supervision by no means creates the necessity of establishing numerous public formations. I think that the time has come for seriously examining the appropriateness of existence of all manner of commissions and councils. The chief appointment of public formations should be that of assistants to party committee and soviet organs. For this reason, in involving the party and soviet aktiv in different commissions and councils, it is necessary to proceed from rational need.

In the improvement of the style and methods of party leadership, an exceptionally important place belongs to problems of organizations and verification of performance.

A basic defect in this work is that verification of performance is done primarily through the means of requesting written information and inquiries rather than by means of personal check and actual organization of improvement of work in the localities. While exercising control, one should not fall into another extremity--holding of numerous, frequently parallel checks of the work of labor collectives. Departments of the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the Committee of People's Control, party gorkoms and raykoms and city rayispolkoms need to better coordinate control work and not permit parallelism and duplication.

While speaking before apparatus personnel of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K.U. Chernenko particularly emphasized that today the question of further improving work style and methods of the party apparatus is a most important one. The party apparatus has to play an ever growing role in implementation of party policy. Its most important task is strengthening live organizational and political work in the localities and providing practical assistance to primary party organizations. To instruct people, to contribute maximum enterprise to work, to creatively generalize advanced know-how and to work for the total elimination of detected defects--all this should be an integral feature of work and an inner need of each apparatus worker of the Central Committee and party raykoms and gorkoms.

The CPSU Central Committee directs our attention to the fact, it was further pointed out in the report, that party committees sometimes do not put forth the necessary demands on personnel for strict observance of norms of party

ethics and do not provide a critical assessment of cases of deceit, improper text insertions and abuses of official position. Today it must be said with utter frankness that such negative phenomena are still continuing to take place in the republic. Recently, improper additions and other distortions in reporting were disclosed at enterprises and organizations of the Ministry of Construction Materials Industry, the Ministry of Consumer Services, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Local Industry and the Ministry of Light Industry. For improper additions, concealment and distortion of reporting data in the last year and the first quarter of this year, 266 persons were administratively called to account.

Cases are still encountered of improper behavior of individual managerial personnel, of abuses of official position for sordid reasons and economic accumulation. By way of example, there may be cited the general director of Al'fa Association Comrade V.G. Lysenkov who used his official position and, violating existing legislation, built an imposing summerhouse instead of a modest garden cottage. Gross violations in the republic of the prescribed procedure of building garden cottages, abuse of official position, nonobservance of norms of party morality and ethics permitted by the general director and other managers of Al'fa did not receive a principled assessment from the association's party committee. Only after intervention of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia did Comrade V.G. Lysenkov receive a strict reprimand with a notation made on the registration form.

The bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia finds it necessary to warn all comrades who attempt to operate while avoiding and acting even contrary to generally accepted norms and rules that the struggle against such shameful occurrences as squandering of state funds, abuse of official position and deceit is not a temporary campaign. As Comrade K.U. Chernenko emphasized this is a policy that will be maintained permanently and rigorously. No one should harbor any illusions in this regard.

Last year, for the republic as a whole, 122 managers of various ranks were excluded from the party for such and other acts, many were strictly punished according to party procedure. In speaking of this, I would like to stress that we cannot agree with the practice where communists, especially leaders, receive party penalties, while primary party organizations escape this. It cannot be considered normal that party committees and primary party organizations do not always provide a party assessment of actions of leaders made accountable by higher soviet and economic organs. Thus of the total number of economic managers made accountable to organs of people's control, only one-third were examined at party organizations. Departments of the Central Committee and party gorkoms and raykoms need to intensify the fight against violators of discipline and party ethics and to be uncompromising in regard to those who take the path of deceit of the state, abuse official position and commit other unseemly acts. The pressure of criticism should be excluded from the practice of party work and the activity of managerial personnel. It is necessary to decisively and effectively correct personnel who do not react to critical statements of the press and other mass information media, do not adopt necessary measures for the elimination of revealed defects and

get away with formal, noncommittal replies. Criticism and self-criticism have been and continue to be a most important aspect of genuine party style and methods of work and they must be developed in every possible way.

Then dwelling on matters of cadre selection, placement and training, B.K. Pugo pointed out the special importance of purposeful work relating to training of an effective cadre reserve.

It was further emphasized in the report that the tone in work relating to improvement of style and methods of work of party, soviet and economic organs and the quickest possible elimination of defects has to be set by administrative personnel of the republic level who have a special responsibility for the state of affairs in the economy and other spheres of the republic's public life. Central-Committee members and candidate members, members of the Auditing Commission, secretaries of party committees, ministers and heads of all republic departments and organizations are under obligation to improve the style of personal work, to develop such traits as unity of word and deed, adherence to principles and an uncompromising attitude toward defects, ties with the masses and a concerned attitude toward the needs of working people.

The CPSU Central Committee obliges us to deeply investigate the content of the work of trade unions and people's control organs, to draw them into the solution of deserving tasks, to raise prestige and to work to increase their influence on all aspects of public life. The Latvian Republic Trade-Union should adopt measures for further improving the work style of trade-union organizations. It is important that they, basing themselves on the position of the Law on Labor Collectives, find and ably utilized the most effective forms of involvement of workers in the struggle for efficiency and quality of labor, in management of production and the solution of social and living problems.

The closest attention is required by work on guidance by the Komsomol and on communist training of youth. We have a good young generation growing up that has shown in deed its fidelity to the party and the achievements of the revolution. At the same time among the youth many cases are encountered of deviation from norms of socialist morale and morality. Question of improvement of party guidance of the Komsomol in the work of party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations must occupy a primary, central place. This was clearly and precisely enunciated by Comrade K.U. Chernenko in a speech at the All-Army Conference of Secretaries of Komsomol Organizations. Not an excessive surveillance of komsomol organizations but particular trusts in the komsomol, constant contacts of party leaders with the youth, the maximum of conviction and practical assistance--such are the necessary requirements for the style of party guidance of the Komsomol. The Latvian Komsomol Central Committee and komsomol gorkoms and raykoms should devote more attention to improving the forms and methods and the actual style of work of the republic's komsomol so that it fully meets the requirements of today.

Directives of the CCPSU Central Committee and the instructions of Comrade K.U. Cherenenko require that all party committees, soviet and economic organs and trade-union and komsomol organizations continue in a truly serious and

interested manner work on improving the style, forms and methods of their work, B.K. Pugo said in conclusion. The chief attention of departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, party gorkoms and raykoms, soviet and economic organs and all party organizations should be concentrated on bolstering the effectiveness of party guidance of all facets of the life of the republic, intensification of public production and ensuring of unconditional fulfillment of state plans and targets. The job now is, while effectively utilizing available possibilities and improving work style and methods, to contribute in every possible way to mobilization of communists and all workers for the realization of the party's plans and the attainment of high end economic results.

Allow me to assure the Central Committee and the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee that the party aktiv and communists of the republic will do everything necessary for the unconditional fulfillment of the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee on improving the style and methods of work of party organizations and strive for new successes in the social, economic and cultural development of the republic.

7697

CSO: 1800/437

REGIONAL

KIRGHIZ KOLKHOZ DIRECTOR SENTENCED FOR GRAFT

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 6 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by B. Ibramov: "He Confused the Kolkhoz's Pocket with His Own"]

[Text] For 20 years Ishen Toychubekov headed Kolkhoz imeni Lenin of Tonskiy Rayon. The period of time was long enough to do many good deeds on the farm and to gain prestige. But unfortunately the chairman was least concerned with the flourishing of the kolkhoz, and the reputation he left of himself was not a good one. On mastering the new duties, he surrounded himself with people who were personally devoted to him, ready for any dishonest deeds according to his instructions, suppressed criticism, without feeling any shame put his hand into the kolkhoz's till, regularly engaged in extortions from specialists and kolkhoz farmers and employed illicit methods of management.

Rayon and oblast party organizations, on looking into what was behind the work facade of the "energetic chairman," took away Toychubekov's right to be in the ranks of the CPSU and to manage the farm. SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA has already written about this (see "The Story of a Fall," April 1982 and "Black Cannot Be Painted White," June 1983).

On learning how great the economic damage was that had been inflicted on the kolkhoz, the court collegium under the chairmanship of the deputy chairman of Frunze City Court, B. Ibraimov, sentenced Toychubekov to 12 years imprisonment with confiscation of property. In a presentation sent to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, he was deprived of the orders and medals he had formerly received.

The editorial board asked Balagaza Dubashevich Ibraimov to comment on this sentence.

Judges express their opinion on a case they have been investigating when they pronounce the sentence. But it was very hard to keep from making a wry grin when Ishen Toychubekov lauded his own selflessness:



"I always thought only of the kolkhoz's benefit. My work in the position of chairman has brought me no material benefits. I don't even have a car."

But in fact there were trolleybus and bus tickets, and 30-kopeck stubs from a shooting range. What were these stubs anyway? For some time, the chairman had been fond of going on vacation to central resorts. He used to purchase the most enviable trip passes through friends or at the selected vacation place. Returning to the kolkhoz, tanned and full of energy, he would bring with him the trip passes, railroad passes, trolleybus stubs, receipts for [telephone] discussions which he had had with his relatives and friends, tickets with which he had taken rides on a launch and other "papers" for 10, 20, 40 kopecks.... The chief bookkeeper, Z. Sygynov, lending these reports as favorable an impression as possible, put in the inevitable decision "to pay." And the cashiers issued almost 3,000 rubles to the chairman for the fact that he had swum to his heart's content, regaled himself in restaurants, enjoyed walks by the sea....

Let us consider the kopecks. Toychubekov's average earnings including payment in kind, were as high as 500-600 rubles per month. Furthermore, prior to the vacation Sygynov made the rounds of the specialists and managers of all subdivisions with a certain secret list. It contained a record of who gave how much from his bounty to the chairman for his vacation. They gave a great deal, knowing that the head of the kolkhoz painstakingly studied these lists, kept them and distributed favors and disfavor in accordance with the sum of the "contribution." The kolkhoz specialists and managers "donated" more than 13,000 in this way. Having thousands of earned and unearned rubles in his pocket, the chairman carefully collected used stubs and receipts so as to extract from the kolkhoz's pocket another extra 20 kopecks. At the azure shore of a southern sea, Toychubekov felt lonely. Who would hourly praise his intelligence and talent and run his errands? For this reason he took with him brigade leaders Bekzhanov and Tursunov, who were particularly close to him. And this also at the expense of the kolkhoz. (They subsequently had to pay back the entire total for their holiday pleasures).

The court included in the sum of economic damage inflicted on the farm the expensive presents that Toychubekov had given to certain officials: a kolkhoz panel house sold at half its cost to Kolybanov, the former chairman of Issyk-Kyl Oblast Association of the State Committee for Selkhoztekhnika; he was built a kolkhoz house for which he failed to pay 5,500 rubles. With their other misappropriations, the sum came to 37,365 rubles and 5 kopecks.

It would be impossible to measure the harm which Toychubekov inflicted on the morale and public consciousness of the kolkhoz members with his behavior, persecutions and presents to the yes-men pleasing to him. The party obkom and raykom made a serious statement in this regard. The court collegium had its own standard of measuring the harm done in this case. Thus, those "personally" close to Toychubekov, brigade leaders Bekzhanov, Tursunov, cashier Kiyizbayev, head bookkeeper Z. Sygynov, party secretary A. Ashirakmanov and several others also nibbled at the kolkhoz loaf to the extent of their power and ability. And with different "black" lists for the benefit

of this or that specialist or worker favored by the chairman, more than 200,000 rubles had been collected in the last 8 years from kolkhoz members.

For the particularly large misappropriations, party-secretary A. Ashirakmanov and Z. Sygynov were sentenced together with Toychubekov for different time periods with confiscation of property; B. Kiyizbayev was sentenced without confiscation.

Is a person like Toychubekov worthy of orders and medals that were not bestowed for services rendered? The judges decided unanimously: No. An order was also issued addressed to the republic's Supreme Soviet on depriving Sygynov of the honorary title of Honored Economist of the republic.

It is not enough to determine the extent of the harm done, a court must also look into its sources. The misappropriations and [account] padding were a result of the lack of control over the operation of the kolkhozes by the Issyk-Kul Oblispolkom and the republic's Ministry of Agriculture, as well as the careless or criminal attitude of auditing-management personnel toward their duties. This is covered in the specific rulings of the court collegium directed at these organs and departments.

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REGIONAL

KIROV OBKOM CHIEF BESPALOV ON KOMSOMOL ACTIVITIES

[Editorial Report] Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 12, June 1984 (signed to press 13 June 1984) carries on pages 23-28 a 4,000-word article entitled "Party Organizations Support the Patriotic Deeds of Youth" by I. Bepalov, first secretary of the Kirov Obkom. Bepalov writes about the role of the komsomol in light of the school reform program and Chernenko's recent speech at the All-Army Conference of Secretaries of Komsomol Organizations. He describes efforts to attract young workers to rural areas by creating rayon komsomol detachments to work in cattlebreeding.

CSO: 1800/473

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

KAZAKH BILINGUAL TELEVISION CHANNEL--Regular transmissions of a new channel of republic television began in Kazakhstan today. Events in the socio-political and cultural life of the region will be taken up in two languages--Kazakh and Uighur. [Text] [LD041315 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 4 Jul 84 LD]

TURKMEN SSR WATER COMMISSION MEETS--The Land Reclamation and Water Resources Commission of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet held a meeting today during which the question of water supplies to the city of Ashkhabad was reviewed. During the meeting, it was noted that the city has a difficult task to carry out with regard to the rational use of the water resources, protection of the environment, improvement of the water supply to the inhabitants, and development of the central water supply and sewer system. The commission has recommended that the Ashkhabad City Soviet Executive Committee and the corresponding ministries and the departments of the republic take the necessary measures to improve the supply of water to the inhabitants, further expand the sewer system, strengthen the control over [word indistinct], preserve the water sources, and fulfill the plans for constructing the water supply and the sewer systems. After discussing this question, the meeting ended. [Excerpt] [GF271422 Ashkhabad Domestic Service in Russian 1545 GMT 24 Jul 84]

CSO: 1830/600

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